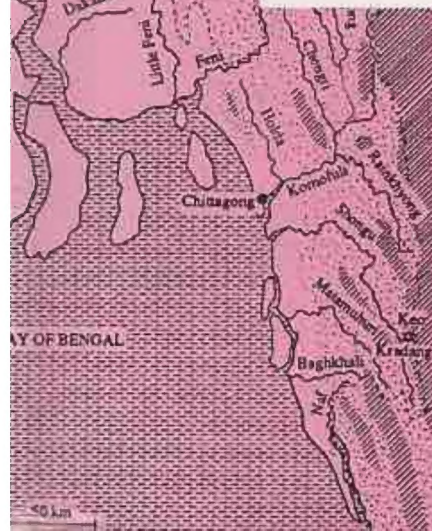
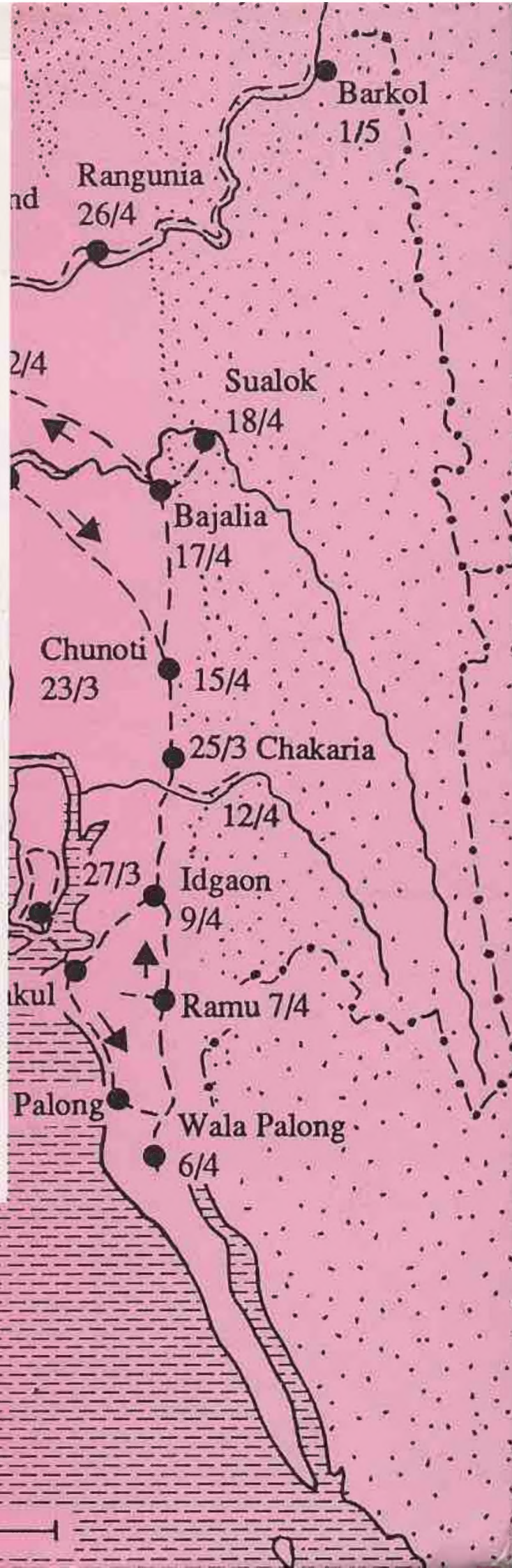


Francis Buchanan in Southeast Bengal (1798)

His Journey to Chittagong,
the Chittagong Hill Tracts,
Noakhali and Comilla



edited by
Willem van Schendel



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INTRODUCTION

Among the many problems that beset contemporary Bangladesh, underdevelopment and poverty are perhaps the most urgent. One aspect of underdevelopment which is often overlooked is the underdevelopment of knowledge. This is especially clear in the case of historical knowledge. While the other social sciences in Bangladesh have received a certain fillip from the considerable aid funds which have been flowing into the country since the early 1970s, the study of history has remained largely untouched. As a result, policies to overcome underdevelopment are based on the most sketchy understanding of longer-term processes of change in Bangladesh. Assumptions about the past usually take the place of actual insights. This is a result of the underdevelopment of historical research in Bangladesh, but also of a view among development planners that historical research is little more than a luxury.

In order to correct the many misunderstandings about patterns of development and underdevelopment in Bangladesh, it is crucial that various myths be exposed. One is that of Bangladesh as a helpless, inefficient society that has always needed outsiders to cope. This idea, coined by imperialist historians to justify colonial rule, fits the current situation of aid dependency like a glove. To counter this myth, nationalist historians have constructed an image of the precolonial period as a Golden Age. They blame the country's present ills on its subservient position, first in the British Empire, and now in the world economy at large. Very little effort is made to go beyond these attempts at apportioning blame, and to find out how processes of development and underdevelopment have actually been interwoven

throughout the recent history of Bangladesh. A closer look reveals that underdevelopment has not only been imposed from without, but at times has been pursued by certain groups within Bangladesh society as well. Conversely, various development processes have been initiated in the past but these could not be sustained. The development history of Bangladesh is marked by frequent fluctuations, turn-about, and decelerations. We need to understand these complex dynamics of social and economic change before we can hope to generate adequate solutions to the grave problems currently facing Bangladesh.

Careful historical research is not a luxury but a necessity. Bangladesh is fortunate among ex-colonial countries in having a rich store of historical records. Important collections can be found in district record rooms, the National Archives, and private collections in Bangladesh, and in various archives in Calcutta and London. Most of this material remains to be studied. Obviously the historical study of development and underdevelopment must be concerned with rural change: Bangladesh has long remained an overwhelmingly rural society. But it is very difficult to reconstruct rural change before the late nineteenth century: historical sources are scarce and rarely detailed. For this reason almost all historians of rural Bangladesh who deal with long-term change refer back to the 'statistical surveys' made by Dr Francis Buchanan in different parts of Bengal between 1807 and 1814. These surveys have become the benchmark against which later change is measured. They also served as a powerful model for later surveyors of the countryside, and therefore have had a great impact on methods of information collection in more recent times.

Francis Buchanan's surveys are of far more than antiquarian interest; they provide us with the first detailed information in existence about many parts of rural Bengal. Any serious attempt to assess long-term social and economic change needs to take account of them. His manuscript accounts, now deposited in the India Office Library and Records in London, were published in full in the early nineteenth century and continue to be reprinted. Until recently, it was virtually unknown that the manuscript account of another, earlier journey had survived. While Buchanan's 'statistical surveys' deal with what is now the Rajshahi division of Bangladesh (as well as with West Bengal,

Bihar, Assam, and other parts of India¹), this rediscovered manuscript deals with Southeastern Bangladesh, allowing us to push back the curtain of ignorance for that part of the country by some sixty years.

How is it possible that such an important account has remained virtually unknown? One reason is that only a single copy seems to have survived. Buchanan made his trip on the orders of the Board of Trade, and must have sent a copy of his account to Calcutta; another ought to have been deposited in the India Office Library and Records in London. But these copies have never surfaced.² Only one copy can now be found in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library. According to a note on its end-papers, it was bought from a private collection in 1853.³ It was never published, possibly because it was by then over fifty years old and by mid-century travel accounts on Bengal had largely given way to bureaucratic reports.

So why publish it now, after almost two hundred years? I think the document fully merits a wide circulation. Like any historical document, the 'Account of Chittagong and Tipperah' can be read from different perspectives. In this Introduction I shall explain its importance from four angles. First of all, it provides unique information on Southeastern Bengal and further regions to the South and East. Second, as a product of British imperial policy in this part

¹ Francis Buchanan left extensive accounts of his journeys in South India, Bihar, Nepal and Burma. These journeys took place between 1795 and 1815, and his reports have become historical classics. Their sheer volume, detailed nature, and careful treatment of information have made them landmarks of the early colonial history of South Asia. See below for titles and dates of publication.

² In October 1798 he said he would 'communicate my journal which contains the remarks I made on the soil, produce, culture, and people of the country through which I passed.' Apparently he actually did so; the Marquis of Wellesley at Calcutta was said to have been 'greatly impressed by the perusal of Buchanan's Chittagong Journal' in 1799. The first quote is from a letter from Dr Francis Buchanan to Dr William Roxburgh, dated 16th October 1798 and quoted in David Prain, 'A Sketch of the Life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan), some time Superintendent of the Honourable Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta', *Annals of the Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta*, Vol. X (1905), xi. The second quote is from Prain, xii.

³ The note reads: 'Purchd of Messrs Boone, 8th Jan'y 1853 (Arley Castle Sale Lot 1055).' The shelf number of the manuscript is British Library, Department of Manuscripts, ADD. 19,286.

of the world, it can be read as a record of that policy. Third, it is a good example of how Europeans collected knowledge of the wider world and what views they held. And finally, being the first full travel account written by Buchanan, it provides a background to his celebrated 'statistical surveys,' on which he embarked nine years later.

1. New information on Bengal and regions to the South and East

Buchanan's account can be seen as a significant source of new information on eighteenth-century Bengal, Arakan, Tripura, Cachar, Manipur, Mizoram and Burma. It is the earliest detailed travel account on the region that we have. Buchanan begins his trip in March 1798. Leaving his house at the mouth of the Meghna river, he travels East through Noakhali and then South through Chittagong almost to the Naf river. He returns by a more inland route and then leaves British territory, travelling East all the way up the Kornofuli river through the Chittagong Hill Tracts till he reaches Barkol, near Mizoram. From here he returns to Chittagong and then goes North to Comilla. From Comilla he returns to the Meghna. The entire trip takes more than two and a half months.

The rural economy. The purpose of the journey is to find out if spices can be grown profitably in Southeastern Bengal. It is not surprising, therefore, that Buchanan reports almost daily on the quality of the soil, the geographical peculiarities, and the state of agriculture in the localities he visits. He describes a fairly commercialized agriculture and a remarkably 'empty' countryside. Buchanan often mentions extensive woods, uncultivated regions, and land that is newly cultivated. Wherever there is settled agriculture the peasants produce market crops such as tobacco, sugarcane, cotton, flax, castor, rice, betelnut, and capsicum.⁴ His description of cultivation methods can be very detailed, as in the case of betel-leaf production, or in that of preparing hilly land for swidden cultivation (*jhum*, 'joom'). But his interest in the rural economy is not limited to agriculture by any

⁴ A list of plants mentioned in the text can be found in the *Botanical Index*.

means. He gives detailed accounts of salt-making in coastal Noakhali, the characteristics of Bengali cattle, and the tapping of oil from the *gorjon* tree. The manuscript contains many references to trade, especially in salt, cotton, betelnut, dried prawns, and various forest products (timber, bamboo, grass for thatching, honey, elephants and wax). Among the local products that Buchanan mentions are cotton textiles, lamp oil (from castor and sesame), sweetmeats, umbrellas, and boats.

Social life and ethnic relations. Although Buchanan's task was to collect information about spice cultivation, his account is full of observations about social life. He visits places of pilgrimage, such as the 'burning rock' at Sitakund and the 'burning well' at Barabakund, and gives lively descriptions. At Comilla he visits the nearby ruins of Moinamoti (the large complex of 8th-12th century Buddhist temples, monasteries and stupas) whose real age he does not suspect. He is at pains to describe the way people look and how they are dressed. He also has an interest in relations between *zamindars* and their tenants. Inevitably in an area as ethnically complex as Southeastern Bengal, he is fascinated by ethnic relations. His information on the Arakanese refugees who came to Chittagong when the Burmese occupied their country in 1785 is unique. He describes the miserable life that most of these political refugees lead, subsisting as they do on various non-agricultural activities, and their strained relations with the Bengali population. The complex ethnic mix throughout the lowland is exemplified by the situation on Moheshkhali island off the Chittagong coast near Cox's Bazar. Here Buchanan meets with communities of Arakanese, Bengalis, and Marmas, all apparently recent immigrants, while a European planter, Mr. Wallis, has recently abandoned a garden there.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts. Buchanan is the first visitor of the Chittagong Hill Tracts to have left a careful record. His information is simply invaluable for the reconstruction of the history of this area. He describes the situation sixty years before British annexation (1860); the first accounts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts that were known so far date from after that annexation. For example, it is most remarkable to have a record of Buchanan's discussions with the Marma leader Kaung Hla Hpru who was till now known only as an almost legendary

ancestor of the present Bohmong chief.⁵ Buchanan's information is extraordinarily rich and well researched. He combines his own observations with interviews with a considerable number of Marma, Chakma, Mru, Zo, Tippera, Bengali, Burmese and Arakanese informants. In addition to this information, which he tries to cross-check whenever possible, he makes use of a written statement by a minor Marma chief, Aung-ghio-se, which is included in the manuscript. The subjects which Buchanan's account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts covers range widely from house-building to religious beliefs, from debt slavery to taxation, from marriage customs to migration patterns, from sexual segregation to the use of forest plants, and from warfare to ornaments. The account is very rich in information on ethnic groups in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. These include, in addition to the ones mentioned above: Mroung, Pankhua, Khumi/Khumi, Lakher, Lushai, Borua, Bawm, Sak, and possibly Doingnak and Khyang. Buchanan's data necessitate a rethinking of processes of ethnogenesis in this area. An overview of the large number of ethnic terms he collected can be found in the *Index of Ethnic Groups*. Also included in the account are the first comparative vocabularies of Mru, Marma, Zo, and two dialects of Tippera.⁶

Charting the unknown: Arakan, Mizoram, Tripura, Cachar and Manipur. From the outset, Buchanan plans to go down to the mouth of the river Naf, and perhaps into Arakan. He soon finds out that no one is willing to take him there, even by boat. The area, contested by Burma and Britain and the scene of guerrilla sorties by Arakanese resistance fighters, is too unsafe. Instead he has to make do with a geographical account and some poor maps of Arakan, provided by Puran Bisungri, the police officer of Ramu who was born in Arakan. He also tries to collect information on what is now Mizoram, but what he hears is vague and not very reliable. His information on Mizoram is slightly better than that which MacRae and Rawlins are able to collect in the

⁵ Cf. Lucien Bernot, *Les paysans arakanais du Pakistan Oriental: l'histoire, le monde végétal et l'organisation sociale des réfugiés Marma (Mog)* (Paris/The Hague: Mouton, 1967), 86ff.

⁶ For a first analysis of some of Buchanan's findings on ethnic groups in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, see Willem van Schendel, 'The Invention of the *Jummas*: State Formation and Ethnicity in Southeastern Bangladesh', *Modern Asian Studies*, 1991 (forthcoming).

same period. His talk with some Zo informants, the first recorded, provides first-hand information on 'Kookies'.⁷

Buchanan's journey starts later and takes longer than expected. The early start of the rainy season in 1798 makes it impossible for him to travel from Comilla to Tripura, as he intended. Here too he has to content himself with hearsay. His information on Tripura is based mainly on three sources: a Tippera individual at Duckinseek (Chhagolnaiya), a Bengali woodcutter at Comilla who visits Tripura regularly, and the *dewan* (Minister) of Raja Rajdhar Manikya of Tripura. By a stroke of luck, however, the Tripura Raja's father-in-law, Raja Jai Singh of Manipur, is visiting, and Buchanan has a long talk with his priest. From him and the *dewan* he learns about travel routes between Tripura and Manipur, and from there to the Chindwin river in Upper Burma. He also collects information on life in Manipur, the recent occupation of Manipur by the Burmese, and political relations between several polities in Northeast India.

2. British imperial policy in the region

Another way of understanding Francis Buchanan's manuscript is to read it as a record of British expansion. The fertile coastal tract of Chittagong had been a bone of contention between successive states in Arakan, Tripura and Bengal for centuries. In 1760 it came under British rule as a result of the demise of Mughal power in Bengal. Chittagong remained a frontier district for two reasons: Arakanese claims on the area had not been relinquished, and the peoples inhabiting the hills to the East, who remained beyond British power, continued to carry out raids on the plains.

⁷ The source of Rawlins' information is unknown; MacRae collected his information from 'a native of Runganeeah [i.e. Rangun in Chittagong district], who had long resided among the Cucis as their captive.' Kooky (Cuci, Koongky, Langa, Lineta, etc.) is a general term for Chin/Mizo groups. John Rawlins, 'On the Manners, Religion, and Laws of the Cúci's, or Mountaineers of Tipra - Communicated in Persian,' *Asiatick Researches*, 2:12 (1790), 187-193; John MacRae, 'Account of the Kookies or Lunctas,' *Asiatick Researches*, 8:5 (1801), 183-198.

Arakanese claims gained a sudden salience when the Burmese invaded Arakan and conquered it in 1785. Considerable numbers of Arakanese sought refuge in Chittagong, from where some launched guerrilla attacks on Arakan. Burmese troops were occasionally sent into Chittagong, not only to stop further emigration and attacks but also to test whether the area could be occupied permanently. The first attempt was made in 1786, and a few years before Buchanan made his journey a considerable Burmese army (4,000 musketeers, a large group of swordsmen, and fifty small cannon, according to Buchanan's information) entered Southern Chittagong and built camps. A similar force lay in wait just across the Naf river, on Burmese territory. After having occupied the area for four months, they were pushed back by a British force. Such confrontations between the 'two empires in collision'⁸ continued till 1826, when the First Anglo-Burmese War broke out. When it was over, Arakan had become a British possession.

In this light the task entrusted to Buchanan can be seen as part of British imperial policy. The Board of Trade was never known to squander money on mere outings. Its assignment to Buchanan served a dual purpose: to stimulate the local economy to become more productive, and to make the Chittagong region safer. The idea to produce more valuable cash crops was as appealing to early colonialists as it is to many contemporary development experts. An earlier *laissez faire* policy had not been successful; Buchanan mentions several experiments by private European planters that had failed. By 1798 the Board of Trade apparently was considering to instal new planters who were to experiment with the cultivation of spices, and Buchanan recommends several places where they could start.⁹ The journey was, in current development jargon, an 'appraisal mission.' Expanded cash-cropping would serve several purposes. It would lead to a population increase in an area that had been partly depopulated by the Burmese incursions. This population would bring abandoned and new land into cultivation, and could act as a buffer against

⁸ The expression is taken from Oliver B. Pollack, *Empires in Collision: Anglo-Burmese Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979).

⁹ For example, Moheshkhali (see his entry for April 2, 1798).

Burmese expansionism. The land itself could be highly taxed because it produced crops of a high market value. In this way the Board of Trade would receive a large return on its investment. And last but not least, soaring tax revenues would help pay for any further military costs involved in keeping the region within the British Empire.

At the same time the journey could be used to collect geographical and political information about areas beyond British control. This not only satisfied scientific curiosity but also might be of use in future territorial expansion. The reconnaissance work Buchanan was to do during a later survey of Nepal would be recognized as very helpful in the ensuing war against that country.¹⁰ There is no evidence that his 'Account of Chittagong and Tipperah' played a similar role in the annexation of Arakan (1826), or the formal incorporation of Tripura (1838) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (1860). There is not a single reference to the account in the literature of the period: presumably it had been lost well before the annexations took place.

Relations between British overlords and local subjects were not very cordial at the time. Buchanan describes clearly how the Bengali population in Chittagong mistrusted his intentions and avoided him. The manuscript contains surprisingly little information provided by local Bengalis. Buchanan himself suggests that Bengalis avoided contact partly because they were wary of the servants of European travellers who extorted provisions from them; on one occasion his servants almost came to blows with the retainers of a *zamindar*, and in Rajagonj the shopkeepers 'carefully concealed their stores' of rice. 'But I am convinced,' he continues, 'that [the difficulty in procuring necessities] chiefly proceeds from that aversion, which the Bengalese, like all other conquered Nations, entertain against their Vanquishers: yet no Conquerors have ever conducted themselves with more moderation, than the English in Bengal have done.'¹¹

Although a staunch supporter of British rule, Buchanan is not uncritical of British policies. For example, he points out that the land

¹⁰ See the sketch of Francis Buchanan's life in R.H. Phillimore (ed.), *Historical Records of the Survey of India* (Dehra Dun: Survey of India, 1946-1958), Vol. I, 315-16.

¹¹ Entry for March 21, 1798.

dispute between the Resident at Chittagong and the father of Taubboka [Tabbar Khan], the Chakma chief, some 14 years previously, still rankles. '[A]lthough the Government found their agent to have been in the wrong, yet regular grants of the lands seized having been given to the Bengalese, the Chakma has never been able to obtain the restitution of his property.' He also exhorts the Board of Trade to become more active in developing the coastal areas by building dams to keep the tide out. He points out that local initiative has resulted in many smaller dams, but that larger ones are beyond the financial scope of the local population.

3. The growth of European knowledge about the wider world

A third reason why Buchanan's account is important is that it can be seen as representing a genre. It is presented as a travel diary (although it must have been polished to some extent¹²), but it is not the diary of an undisciplined traveller. Buchanan's interests range wide and far, resembling those of earlier travellers. But in all his activities - whether he calculates his geographical position in the hills, makes linguistic comparisons, attempts to determine botanical species, or carries out experiments to find out the nature of the fumes at a 'burning well' -- he applies methods of reasoning and systematic thought that are typical of scientists of his period. His account is no longer a traveller's tale, but it is also less regimented and narrow-focussed than later scientific reports would be. It stands mid-way between a travel adventure and a scientific survey, and can be seen as an example of how Europeans were beginning to understand the world about them more and more by means of a critical use of sources of information and by experiment. For example, Buchanan is often cautious not to draw conclusions that go beyond the evidence in hand. His aim is not to impress his readers with the exoticism of his travels or the vastness of his experience. Rather he wishes to show what solid information his exploration has yielded and which gaps still remain to be filled. He is meticulous in mentioning who gave him

¹² For example, the entry for April 28th includes information on Tippera dialects collected on May 12th.

which information, and in questioning the reliability of his findings. He establishes reliability by taking into consideration the first-hand experience of his informants and their possible reasons for distorting or withholding evidence. Finally, he attempts to cross-check his information to enhance its reliability. As an anthropological fieldworker *avant la lettre*, Buchanan is a natural.

But modern anthropologists would not approve of many of his views regarding the people he meets. The manuscript is an outstanding example of the 'ethnocentric' views held even by enlightened Europeans at the time. Buchanan judges the local cultures by the standards of his own, and this rarely leads to a flattering picture. For example, he translates his difficulty in understanding local religions in disapproval. At Barabakund his Hindu servants are said to adore 'the Divinity of the place with hideous yells'; and he thinks that the main reason why Kali is such a popular goddess is that her worshippers, normally forbidden meat, are allowed to eat the meat of buffaloes and goats sacrificed in her honour. When he visits Sitarghat, now Chitaram, then a place of pilgrimage for Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims alike, he denounces the syncretism of the 'foolish Moham-medans of this province, who have adapted some fable to almost every place esteemed holy by the Gentoos: probably thinking, that it would be disgraceful for their religion, were it not provided with as many ceremonies, and holy places, as that of their neighbours.' Likewise he criticizes Buddhist influences at Kodom Rosul where Muslims revere a 'Footprint of the Prophet'; while the Buddhism of the Chakmas is condemned as 'corrupted by ... many Braminical superstitions, and especially bloody sacrifices to the Devtas' who communicate with mortals through 'certain women called Deearae.'

But Buchanan's disapproval is not wilful. His relatively open-minded approach can actually be considered as one of the great assets of his account. It is an object-lesson in the problems faced by anyone attempting to appreciate other cultures. Like all of us, Buchanan finds it easier to criticize the cultural prejudices of others than to recognize

and neutralize his own.¹³ All European sources on early colonial Asia suffer from similar prejudices, blind spots, and distortions. The distance in time makes it easier for us to spot these shortcomings than those inherent in contemporary perspectives on Asian societies.

Buchanan's charting of unknown areas to the East and South reflects the concerns of other explorers of the period. European knowledge of the wider world often began with an exploration of travel routes and their safety. He faces familiar problems when trying to separate truth from legend: did the 'Langmang' of Mizoram really exist? And if so, did they actually 'sleep on trees like baboons'? It is now difficult to imagine that in the late eighteenth century the British, although they had been in possession of the Chittagong plains for almost forty years, were still completely ignorant about places and people a mere 50 km from the coast. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, their knowledge would expand very rapidly. In this context Buchanan's account can be seen both as a considerable advance over earlier European knowledge of the region and as part of an acceleration in the accumulation of such knowledge. It is of particular interest that Buchanan's findings were lost, and therefore did not play the role for which they were intended. It is a testimony to the quality of

¹³ On the one hand, he is critical of Indian arrogance concerning the peoples who live to the east:

'The magical power attributed by the Chakmas to their Deerees has by the silly Bengalese been extended to the whole tribe, and about Luckipour a [M]ug is beheld with a mixture of abhorrence and fear, from his eating without the observances of cast, and from his supposed power in the black art. It is to such foolish prejudices, joined by the absurdity of national pride, that we are to attribute much of the unfavorable character given by the people of Hindoostan to their eastern neighbours.' (April 29, 1798)

On the other hand, his irritation about being frequently misinformed boils over in the following bold generalization:

'Any person who relies on information received from a native of Chittigong, will often be most cruelly deceived. In general he will assure you, that in any place, except that in which you are, there will not be the least difficulty in getting any thing after which you enquire: yet at the same time he may know, that where you are the thing wanted is in the greatest abundance, and where you are going, that no such thing ever existed. Of this all Travellers ought to be aware. If they trust for necessities to such information, they may perish; and if for matters of curiosity, they will be disappointed.' (April 4, 1798)

Buchanan's report that it was not paralleled till well after the British annexed the areas under discussion.

4. Francis Buchanan's first full travel account

A final reason for publishing 'An Account of Chittagong and Tiperah' is that its author went on to become one of British India's foremost surveyors. His later surveys appeared in print, and a reconstruction of Buchanan's intellectual development cannot be undertaken without reference to his first full travel account. To my knowledge, a serious biography of Francis Buchanan has not yet been written. The extent of his work, its intrinsic value for the knowledge of South Asia, and the available documentation on Buchanan and his work in the India Office Library and Records would certainly merit such an enterprise. His work is important in itself, but also as a part of the history of surveying in India, and indeed of the prehistory of the Survey of India.

Francis Buchanan was born in Scotland in 1762, graduated from the University of Glasgow, and then studied medicine in Edinburgh.¹⁴ He qualified as a medical doctor in 1783 with a dissertation on the treatment of recurrent fevers.¹⁵ After having made journeys to Asia and the West Indies as a ship's surgeon, he was appointed in Bengal. In 1795 he was attached as surgeon to Captain Michael Symes' Embassy to Ava, the capital of Burma. He used this journey to collect and record information on many aspects of life in Burma and the Andamans.¹⁶ After this mission, he was stationed at Patahat (Puttahaat) near the mouth of the river Meghna. It was here that he

¹⁴ This paragraph is based mainly on David Prain's extensive 'Sketch'; cf. *Bengal Past & Present* (1915), 190; Phillimore, Vol I, 315-316; Vol. II, 384.

¹⁵ *De febris inter[mittentibus] medendo* (Edinburgi, 1783).

¹⁶ Francis Buchanan, 'A comparative vocabulary of some of the languages spoken in the Burman Empire,' *Asiatick Researches* (Calcutta), Vol. 5 (1801), 219-240; —, 'On the religion and literature of the Burmas,' *Asiatick Researches* (Calcutta), Vol. 6 (1801), 163-308.

His manuscript report 'Extracts and Observations Respecting the Dominions of Ava ..', in the India Office Library, London (IOR MSS.Eur.D.106), remains unpublished. It did serve as a source for the 'Draught of the Burmah Territories and Eastern Countries', which was compiled later.

received his assignment to undertake the journey to Chittagong which is the subject of this book. The trip took from March 2 to May 21, 1798. It was the first survey which he made entirely on his own.¹⁷

After his return he was stationed at Baruipur, 24-Parganas, for more than a year, and then was in charge of the Botanic Gardens at Calcutta for some months.¹⁸ In 1800 he was sent to Mysore, Malabar, and the territories the East India Company had recently acquired in South India. He spent over a year there, and the account of his survey was published in 1807.¹⁹ In 1802-1803 he was attached to Knox' mission to Nepal, and his findings were published in 1819.²⁰ In 1803-1804 he was surgeon to the Governor-General of India. During his stay at Calcutta he started a menagerie at Barrackpore which formed

¹⁷ William Roxburgh, the Superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Calcutta and a friend and protector of Buchanan, had intended to make the survey himself. He fell seriously ill, however, and had to leave India in January 1798. Before he left he proposed to the Board of Trade to let Buchanan make the survey instead, and his request was granted. Prain, x-xi.

¹⁸ He had been in continual contact with the garden from the days of his trip to Burma. In a letter to Dr Roxburgh dated 16th October 1798 he mentions that he has collected 'pretty numerous' specimens of dried plants during his trip to Chittagong — which he describes as 'a charming botanical excursion' — and had sent 'a good many seeds and growing plants to the garden.' He continues: 'Among my specimens are four species of Gurgeon or wood oil trees; a tree which yields a very acrid varnish which I suppose is the same with that of the Burmas and Chinese; another the bark of which united with indigo is said to form a black dye. I saw not the fructification of either, but suspect the first to be a species of Semecarpus and the latter to be a Ricinus. I sent growing plants of both.' Quoted in Prain, xi.

¹⁹ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar performed under the orders of the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellesley*,... (London, 1807), 3 Vols.; —, *Journey through the northern parts of Kanara...in the year 1801 between 18th February and 17th March*...; introduced by S. Silva (Karwar: Kanara Renaissance Series No.1, 1956).

²⁰ Francis Buchanan, *An Account of the kingdom of Nepal, and of the territories annexed to its dominion by the House of Gorkha* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1819); a reprint, with an introduction by Marc Gaborieau, was published by Manjusri in New Delhi in 1971;

—, *Prodromus florae Nepalensis; sive, Enumeratio vegetabilium quae in itinere per Nepaliā proprie dictam et regiones conterminas, ann. 1802-1803, detexit atque legit D.D. Franciscus Hamilton, olim Buchanan: accedunt plantae a D. Wallich nuperius missae secundum methodi naturalis normam disposuit atque descripsit David Don* (Londini: Veneunt apud J. Gale, 1825).

the origin of the Alipore Zoo.

He went to England in 1805 but was back in India by 1807 where he began the work that was to make him most famous: an extensive statistical survey of North Bengal and Bihar. This survey took seven years to conclude, and most of it was published posthumously.²¹ In 1814 he was appointed to succeed Dr Roxburgh as Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens at Calcutta, but ill health forced him to retire. He returned to Scotland in 1815; in the same year he dropped the name Buchanan, and took his mother's name Hamilton. In 1816 he

²¹ The full records are kept at the India Office Library and Records, London (IOR MSS.Eur.D.75). The following books were published:

Francis Buchanan, *A geographical, statistical and historical description of the district, or Zila, of Dinajpur in the Province, or Soubah, of Bengal* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1833);

(Robert) Montgomery Martin, *The history, antiquities, topography and statistics of Eastern India; comprising the districts of Behar, Shahabad, Bhagulpour, Goruckpore, Dinajpore, Puraniya, Ronggopour, and Assam...collected from the original documents at the E.I. House* (London, 1838), 3 Vols. Reprint by Cosmo Publications in Delhi in 1976; Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton), *An Account of the district of Purnea in 1809-1810; edited from the Buchanan MSS in the India Office Library*..., edited by V.H. Jackson (Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1928);

—, *An Account of the district of Shahabad in 1809-10...printed from the Buchanan MSS in the India Office Library* (Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society / Jalan, 1934);

—, *An Account of the district of Bhagalpur in 1810-11 ... printed from the Buchanan MSS in the India Office Library, with the permission of the Secretary of State for India in Council*, edited by A. Banerji-Sastri (Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1939);

—, *An Account of the districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-1812; printed from the Buchanan MSS in the India Office Library*... (Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 192-), 2 Vols.;

—, *An Account of Assam with some notices concerning the neighbouring territories; first compiled in 1807-1814 by Francis Buchanan, M.D., F.R.S.*, edited by S.K. Bhuyan (Gauhati: Government of Assam, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies/Narayani Handique Historical Institute, 1940);

Journal of Francis Buchanan, afterwards Hamilton, kept during the survey of the district of Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812, edited with notes and introduction by V.H. Jackson (Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1925);

Journal of Francis Buchanan, afterwards Hamilton, kept during the survey of the district of Shahabad in 1812-1813, edited with notes and introduction by C.E.A.W. Oldham (Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1926);

Journal of Francis Buchanan, afterwards Hamilton, kept during the survey of the district of Bhagalpur in 1810-1811, edited with notes and introduction by C.E.A.W. Oldham (Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1930).

retired as surgeon, and inherited the family estates. He published two more studies on India before his death in 1829.²²

We have already seen that Francis Buchanan trusted his own observations and interviews more than hearsay. This attitude took him on difficult and exhausting cross-country trips. His 'Account of Chittagong and Tiperah' sets the tone. His style was not that of a high official taking a leisurely tour from one government bungalow to the next, and ordering informants to his presence. Near his home and in large settlements such as Chittagong and Comilla he stayed with Europeans, but during most of his journey he was left to his own devices. Not being invited to stay with local people, he spent most of his nights in a tent pitched near some small river, and most of his days travelling by palankeen on a poor road, walking, or in a canoe on a hill stream. The restrictions of eighteenth century transport determined what could be surveyed and what not. Palankeens could not travel on certain roads and many rivulets in the hills were not navigable.

Buchanan travelled with a group of servants whom he describes vaguely as 'my people.' Among them were palankeen bearers hired from Chittagong, and both Muslims and Hindus. Their tasks were manifold. They carried the palankeen and set up the tents for the night; they collected provisions for several days in advance and cooked meals; they chartered boats to ferry the party across rivers; and they served as bodyguards, messengers and reconnaissance men. Buchanan had little to say about them unless they failed in their assignment, for example to procure a boat to take them to the mouth of the Naf river. Three times they are described in action. Once the appearance of a herd of wild buffalo 'occasioned such an alarm among my people, that I was in some danger of their running away, and leaving me to walk to Ramoo.' Near Barkol (Eastern Chittagong Hill Tracts) Buchanan tries to shoot down small cascades in a canoe which promptly overturns 'to

²² Francis Hamilton, *Genealogical tables of the deities, princes, heroes, and remarkable personages of the Hindus extracted from the sacred writings of that people* (Edinburgh: W. Aitken, 1819), 2 Vols.;

—, *An Account of the fishes found in the river Ganges and its branches* (Edinburgh, 1822), 2 Vols.

the great consternation of my people, who not knowing that I could swim, were afraid of being punished, should they return without me.' In Hajigonj (Noakhali) he admires the endurance of the new boatmen who have been provided by the local police officer.

The necessity of travelling in a group put a definite stamp on the information that early surveyors could collect. Buchanan followed existing roads and rarely penetrated deeply into uncultivated areas. His progress was slow and far from unobtrusive. He was unable to reach a chief named Agunnea because the road was said to be too poor, and his efforts to meet Bawm ('Bonjoogies'), Doingnak ('Deinea Moroong'), and other groups failed because he could not reach them and they would not, or could not, come to him. All early surveyors found such serious obstacles in their way. Buchanan's success in collecting much new information resulted not only from his systematic approach, but also from his immense tenacity and inventiveness in overcoming many of these obstacles.

I have indicated that Francis Buchanan's 'Account of Chittagong and Tiperah' can be understood from different perspectives. But Buchanan is not only a recorder of unknown facts, an emissary of the imperial power, a representative of European views of 'the other', or a traveller groping for a formula for scientific surveying. He is, first and foremost, an intellectual forebear of all social scientists trying to make sense of social structure and social change in South Asia.

NOTE

The 'Account ... of Chittagong and Tiperah' is written in a fairly clear hand, or, to be more precise, two: a second copyist takes over from the entry of April 26, 1798. Occasionally, *corrections* are made in a third hand, presumably Buchanan's own. Where these corrections concern writing errors or omissions, I have included them instead of the original mistake but wherever they seemed more substantial, I have duly noted this. To facilitate reading, I have also corrected some remaining writing errors and spelling peculiarities, e.g. 'immediately' for a frequent but not consistent use of 'immediatly'. These interventions are indicated by square brackets. Wherever a change of meaning might result, I have refrained from corrections. Words I could not decipher are marked as 'illegible.' There are a few *footnotes* in the original; these have been distinguished from my explanatory footnotes by a separate heading.

You will note that the 'Account' contains many geographical and personal names written in *Burmese script*. In romanizing these names when they first occur, I have opted for their Burmese pronunciation rather than the Arakanese version, and I have omitted indications of tone. In romanizing Bengali words I have opted for representing the short 'a' by an 'o', as closest to the East Bengali pronunciation of that vowel.

I have identified *geographical names*, *personal names*, *names of ethnic groups*, and *botanical terms* with their modern variants or equivalents wherever possible. In the *Indexes* at the end of this book both Buchanan's spelling and the modern version of each name can be

found. These Indexes take the place of Buchanan's index in the original, which has not been included. Other local terms in the 'Account' are explained in the *Glossary*.

The manuscript contains *three drawings* of cattle which have been reproduced. There are no *maps* in the original; I have added five maps for the convenience of readers who are not familiar with the local geography. For quick reference I have included Buchanan's travel dates in the most detailed maps 4 and 5. These allow readers interested in information on a particular area to link that area with an entry in Buchanan's diary.

GLOSSARY

Words appear in the spelling used by Francis Buchanan.

amyo	kinship group among the Marma.
anna	one-sixteenth of a rupee.
arack	fermented liquor (Sak, Mru, <i>arak</i>).
Assar	a month (June/July).
auksa	a native of Lower Burma (Burmese, <i>auk-tha</i>).
beegah	0.14 ha or 0.33 acres (Bengali, <i>bigha</i>).
beel	seasonal lake or marsh (Bengali, <i>bil</i>).
bungalo	rest-house (Bengali, <i>bangla</i>).
-cally	channel, canal (Bengali, <i>khali</i>).
chaar	land formed by a receding river (Bengali, <i>chor</i>).
cherra	small stream (Bengali, <i>chhori</i>).
chokey	toll-booth, custom house (Bengali, <i>chouki</i>).
choolah	oven or furnace (Bengali, <i>chula</i>).
coss	a measure of length, a little over two miles (3.2 km) (Bengali, <i>krōsh</i>).
cubit (cubid)	a measure of length (about 46 cm).
cullum	a graft (Bengali, <i>kolom</i>).
cutchery	Magistrate's (or zamindar's) court and office (Bengali, <i>kachhari</i>).
daely	swelling sandy ground (Bengali, <i>dhalu?</i>).
debta	See: devta.
decearee	Chakma woman in contact with devtas.

devta	a god (Chakma, <i>debeda</i> ; Bengali, <i>debota</i>).
dewan	1. a steward or landowner; 2. a Minister; 3. a Chakma local chief (Bengali, <i>deōyan</i>).
doobadse	bilingual, speaking two languages (Bengali, <i>dubhashi</i>).
doon	a measure of surface, equals 16 <i>kani</i> (see: <i>kanay</i>). According to Hunter (1876, 164) the Chittagong <i>drōn</i> is a little over 7 acres (2.8 ha) (Bengali, <i>drōn</i>).
fakir	a Muslim ascetic (Bengali, <i>phokir</i>).
gaut	a landing place (Bengali, <i>ghat</i>).
ghee	purified butter (Bengali, <i>ghi</i>).
ghurry	an hour (Bengali, <i>ghori</i>).
goor	molasses (Bengali, <i>gur</i>).
grist	householder (Bengali, <i>grihostho</i>).
gunge	large market-place (Bengali, <i>gonj</i>).
haut	market-place (Bengali, <i>hat</i>).
havildar	sergeant (Bengali, <i>habildar</i>).
hoimuntik dhaun	winter or amon rice (Bengali, <i>hoimontik dhan</i>).
jeel	a large (seasonal) lake (Bengali, <i>jhil</i>).
joom	(a plot under) shifting cultivation (Chakma, <i>jum</i> ; Bengali, <i>jhum</i>).
joomea	practising shifting cultivation (Chakma, <i>jummua</i> ; Bengali, <i>jhumia</i>).
kanay	a land measure in Noakhali (= 2.6 acres or 1.04 ha) (Bengali, <i>kani</i>).
kayn	custom house (Burmese, <i>kin</i>).
kiaung	1. small river (Burmese, <i>hkyau</i>); 2. convent (Burmese, <i>kyaun</i>).
koar	Mru name for Bengalis.
kummar	seasonal farm (Bengali, <i>khamar</i>).
kung	tidal channel (Burmese, <i>kung?</i>).
kongkar	gravel (Bengali, <i>kongkor</i>).

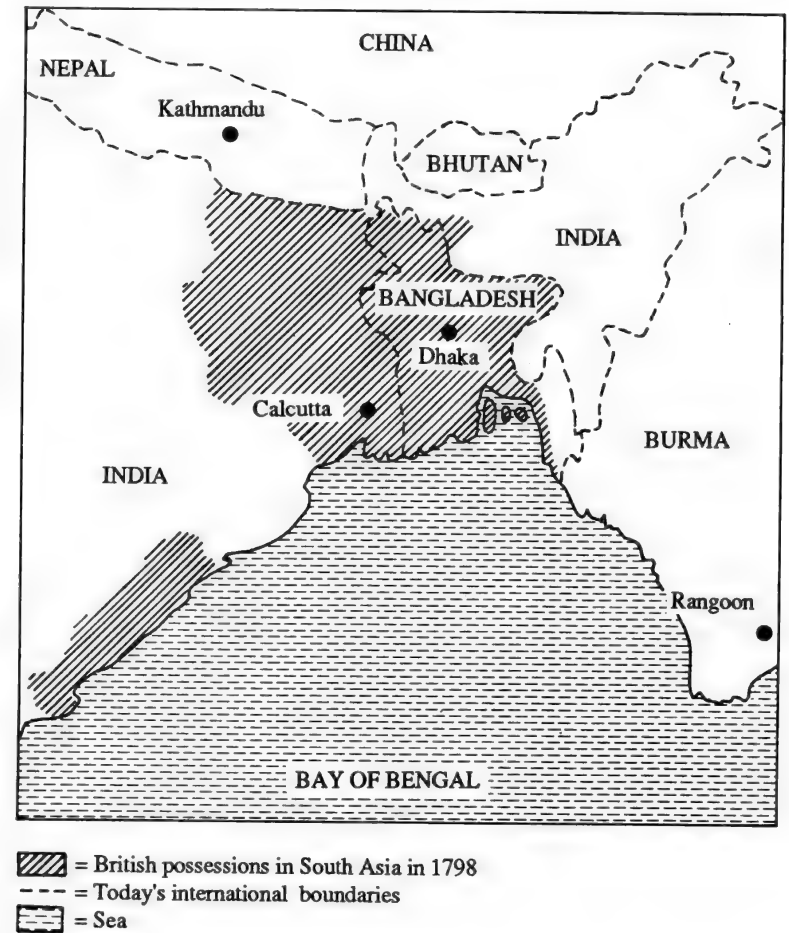
lascar	soldier; sailor (Bengali, <i>loshkor</i>).
maharaj	a great king (Bengali, <i>moharaj</i>).
mang	king, prince (Burmese, <i>min</i>).
maund	a measure of weight, about 36 kg (Bengali, <i>mon</i>).
moishang	Chakma priest of the higher level (= 'raulim').
moo	mouth of a river (Chakma, <i>mu</i>).
moony	sage (Bengali, <i>muni</i>).
moshang	See: moishang.
Mug	vague term for people living to the East of Bengal, e.g. Marmas, Arakanese, Burmans. (Bengali, <i>mog</i>).
muin	mountain (Chakma, <i>mōn</i>).
naik	commander (Bengali, <i>nayek</i>).
nat	supernatural being, god (Burmese, <i>nat</i>).
Nirban, Nieban	Nirvana.
noll	a measure of length which equalled 30 feet (9.15 m) when a zamindar measured out land for his tenant, and 42 feet (12.80 m) when a zamindar received his land from the government (Bengali, <i>nol</i> = pole).
nullah	channel (Bengali, <i>nala</i>).
ouse dhaun	summer rice (Bengali, <i>aush dhan</i>).
pahar	1. mountain (Bengali, <i>pahar</i>); 2. three hours (Bengali, <i>prohar</i>).
palankeen	covered litter carried by four or six men (Bengali, <i>palki</i>).
pallung	low hills in Southern part of Cox's Bazar district (Bengali, <i>palong</i>).
peon	messenger, footman (Bengali, <i>pion</i>).
pergunnah	administrative division in precolonial and early colonial India (Bengali, <i>porgona</i>).
phousdar	(police) officer; intermediate tenure holder (Bengali, <i>phoujdar</i>).
poang-gri	Bengali version of po-mang-gyi. See: pow-mang-gre.
pollam	Tamil? (See pallung).

po-mang	leader, captain (Burmese, <i>po-min</i>).
pottah	a document of leasehold (Bengali, <i>patta</i>).
poun-gre	Buddhist monk (Burmese, <i>pon-gyi</i>).
pow-mang(-gre)	title of Marma leader, 'Great Captain' (Burmese, <i>po-min-gyi</i>).
pow-mayn	general (Burmese, <i>po-min</i> ? See: pow-mang).
pru	white (Burmese, <i>hpyu</i>).
pya	source of a river (Burmese, <i>myit-hpya</i>).
rahan	Buddhist monk (Burmese, <i>yahan</i>).
rajah	prince, king; Hindu zamindar (Bengali, <i>raja</i>).
raulim	Bengali word for priest or monk (See: moishang, <i>rahan</i>).
rua-sa	Marma local chief (Burmese, <i>ywa-sa</i> ; Arakanese, <i>rwa-sa</i> ; often Bengalized to <i>roaja</i>).
rupee	Indian currency.
ryot	tenant; peasant (Bengali, <i>raiyyot</i>).
-sa	son (Burmese, <i>tha</i>).
saag	leafy vegetable, greens (Bengali, <i>shak</i>).
samona	Chakma priest of the lower level.
seapoy, sepoy	soldier (Bengali, <i>shipahi</i>).
se-da	sea (Arakanese, <i>thi-da</i>).
seekdar	1. title of influential villager; 2. zemeendar's collector (Bengali, <i>shikdar</i>).
serai	rest-house, inn (Bengali, <i>shorai</i>).
sirdar	1. overseer of labourers; 2. chief, leader (Bengali, <i>shordar</i>).
sunderbund	(plants) as found in the Sundarban forest in South-Central Bengal (Bengali, <i>shundorbon</i>).
ta-kang	Bawm title.
talookdar	intermediate tenure holder (Bengali, <i>talukdar</i>).
talou	pond, tank.
tam-mang	Marma title.
tannadar	officer in charge of a police station (<i>thana</i>) (Bengali, <i>thanadar</i>).
taung	hill (Burmese, <i>taun</i>).
teclaa	sesame (Bengali, <i>til</i>).

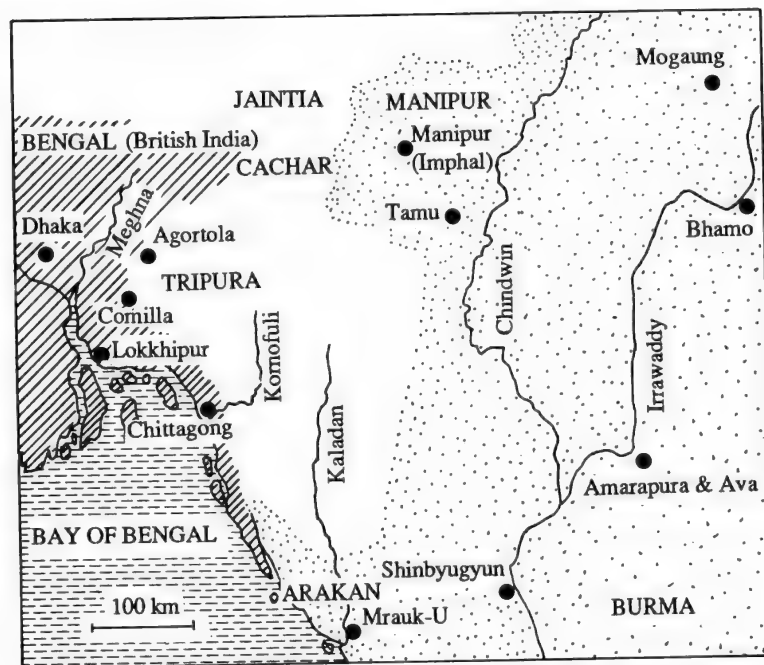
toa	See: yoo.
wah	principal mouth of a river (Arakanese, <i>wa</i>).
wun-gye	Minister of the Burmese government (Burmese, <i>wun-gyi</i>).
yoo	fermented mass of rice and toa (vegetable pulp) for making arrack (Mru).
zemeen	landed property (Bengali, <i>jomin</i>).
zemeendar	landholder, zamindar (Bengali, <i>jomindar</i>).
zemeendary	holding of a 'zemeendar.'

MAPS

Map 1: British India in 1798 superimposed on today's boundaries



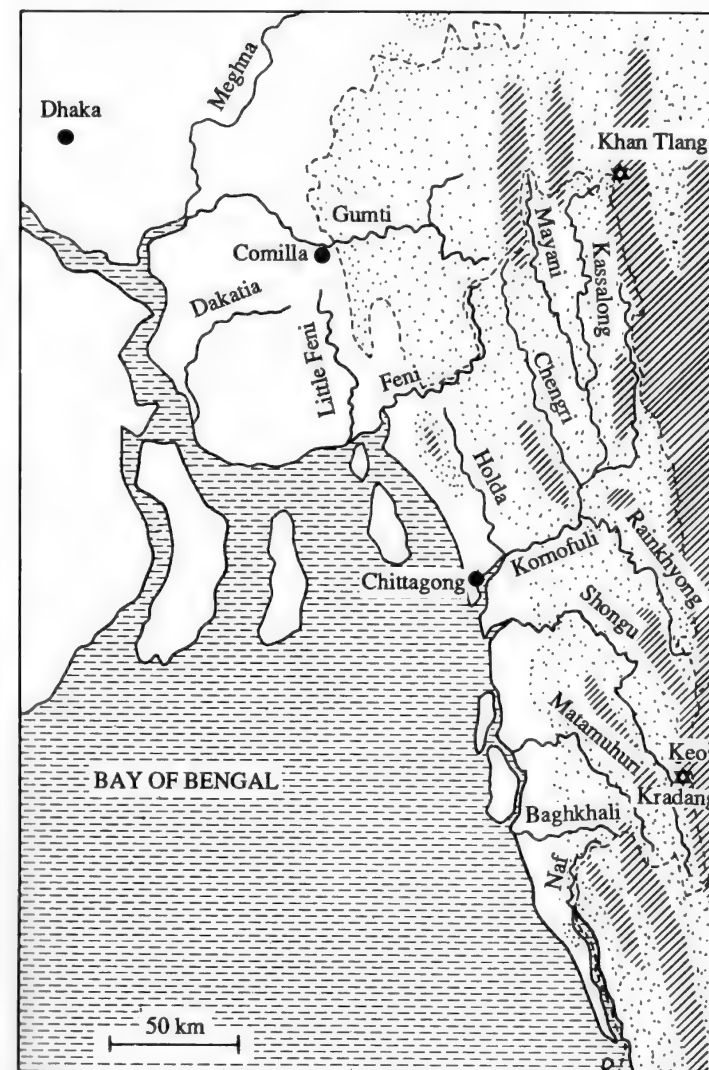
Map 2: North-East India and Burma in Buchanan's account



This map shows the major regions, rivers and places to the East of the British possessions in South Asia which Francis Buchanan mentions in his account.

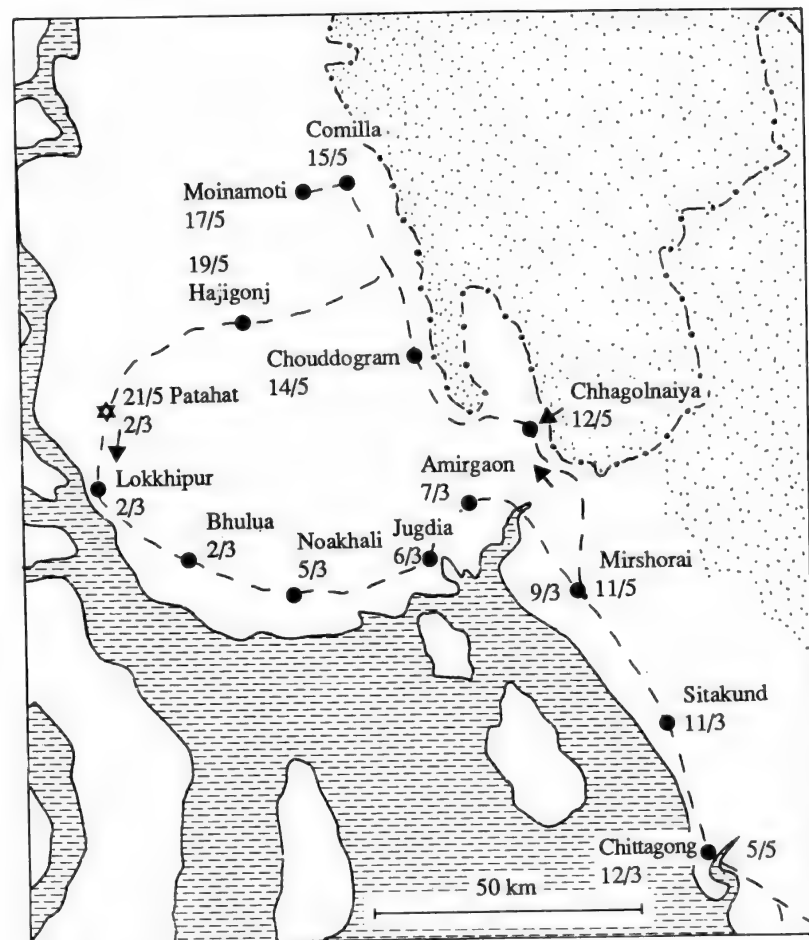
- = British India in 1798
- = Burmese Empire in 1798
- = Sea

Map 3: Relief and rivers in South-Eastern Bangladesh



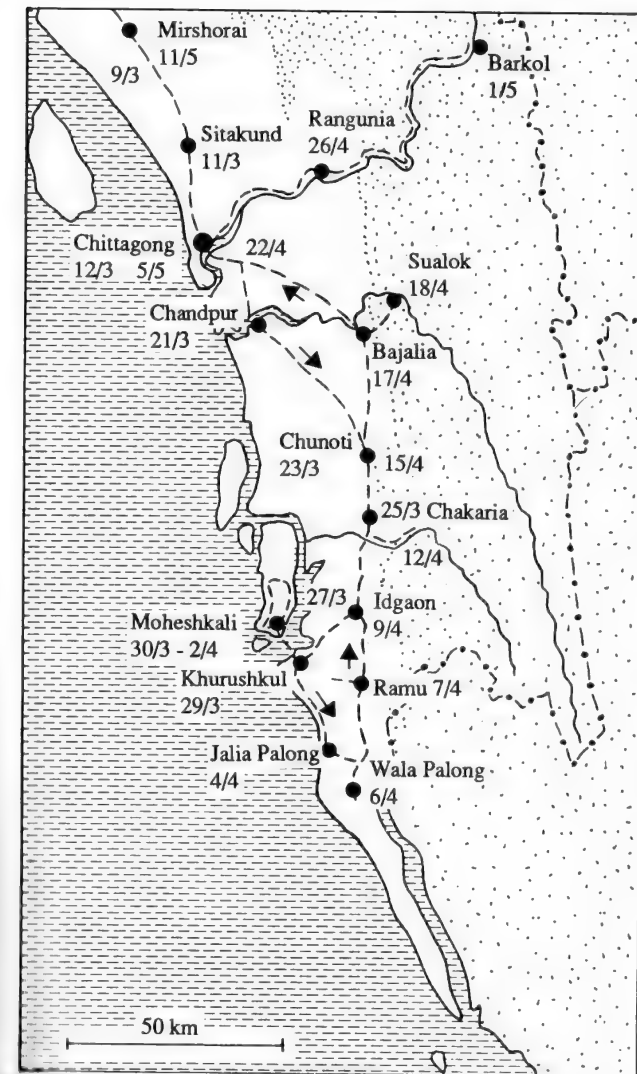
- = Land over 33m (100 ft)
- = Land over 330m (1000 ft)
- = Sea

Map 4: Francis Buchanan's journey: northern section



- = Buchanan's route
- 5/3 = Date of Buchanan's arrival at different places (for example, 5th of March 1798)
- [Stippled area] = Area not administered by British in 1798
- - - = Today's Eastern boundary of Bangladesh
- [Hatched area] = Sea

Map 5: Francis Buchanan's journey: southern section



- = Buchanan's route
- 26/4 = Date of Buchanan's arrival at different places (for example, 26th of April 1798)
- [Stippled area] = Area not administered by the British in 1798
- - - = Today's international boundaries between Bangladesh, India and Burma
- [Hatched area] = Sea

An account of a Journey undertaken by Order of the Board of Trade through the Provinces of Chittagong and Tiperah, in order to look out for the places most proper for the cultivation of Spices, by Francis Buchanan, M.D.¹

2d. March 1798.

On the 15th of February I received the Order to proceed on this journey; but as I was unprovided for travelling and had to procure palankeen Bearers from Chittagong, it was the 2d of March before I commenced the enquiry directed, which was at least six weeks too late.

Early in the morning I set out from my residence at Puttahaut and travelled about 9 Miles to Mr. Caulfields at Luckipour.² The whole country, through which I passed, seems at different times to have been *chaar*,³ or land formed by the receding of a River. It is every where a loose Soil mixed with much micaceous sand, and contains no regular strata, and but very little clay. The Nutmeg Plants, which during the last rainy Season were sent to both places, have either died, or are but barely alive. Indeed this kind of soil seems by no means to be favourable to fruit Trees. It is however extremely productive of herbs.

¹ Till 1822 'Tiperah' included both Noakhali and Comilla (Tipperah) districts.

² Patahat was then a village on the Dakatia river. It survives as Char Pata on the border of the districts of Chandpur (Comilla) and Lakshmipur (Noakhali). Lokkhipur (Lakshmipur) was a notable port at the mouth of the Meghna river. Now it lies inland and is the main town of the district of Lakshmipur (Noakhali). For administrative details on these and later geographical names, see the *Geographical Index*.

Details of persons mentioned in the text, if known, can be found in the *Index of Persons*.

³ *Chor* (Bengali). The meaning of non-English terms is explained in the *Glossary*.

The whole Country by nature is perfectly level, and very low, so that during the rainy Season, the flood tide enters every Ditch. Tanks or ponds are very common, although few only of a large size have been dug: but every small one has on its banks a certain quantity of high ground, and on this the cultivation is entirely different from that on the natural plains. In the plains Rice is the principal Crop; in the raised Ground cotton and capsicum are chiefly cultivated. The plains yield annually 3 Crops; the raised Grounds are cultivated only once.

The ploughing in the plains commences in February. In April and May the first crop of Rice (*ouse dhaun*⁴) is sown broad-cast, and it is reaped in August, or in the end of July. The Ground is immediately ploughed up again, and the young Rice, which had in June been sown broad-cast in a few fields, is now transplanted all over the Country for the great Crop, called by the natives *Hoimuntik Dhaun*.⁵ The Rice of the first Crop is applied to immediate use, as it does not keep, and is of very little value. The Rice of the Second Crop keeps well, and is exported from this district in considerable quantities. This crop is cut down about the end of December. The third Crop is not so universal as the other two, many people in the Winter sowing nothing in their lower Grounds. The most usual third Crop consists of different kinds of pulse, and in this district the most common is that called *Moss Kooly* (*Lathyrus sativus*).⁶ In November the seed is scattered among the growing Rice, and in March it ripens among the Stubble. In place of pulse, as a third Crop some raise *Teelaa* (*Sesamum indicum*). This is sown in January and reaped in April, or May: but it is said to exhaust the Ground much, so that many of those who sow it do not take the first crop of Rice. It is used for making coarse lamp Oil, and the entire unripe capsules are made into a kind of Sweet-meat in much estimation among the Natives. This lower ground never receives any manure, and is never allowed a whole years rest; but yields annually at least two Crops.

The raised Ground, which is generally a small Spot in the Vicinity of the Tank, on the banks of which the Cultivators house stands, receives more attention than the Rice Lands. It is only cultivated once

⁴*Aush dhan* (Bengali), summer rice.

⁵*Hoimontik dhan* (Bengali), winter rice, also known as *amon*.

⁶*Maskalai* (Bengali). Local, English and Latin names of plants mentioned in the text can be found in the *Botanical Index*.

a year, and some ashes are commonly bestowed on it as a manure. As soon as the rains begin to dry up, this ground is trenched, and in November the Cotton seeds are set in drills. In May the pods begin to ripen, and the crop season continues from that time till about the end of July. Although Cotton is reckoned one of the most exhausting Crops of any cultivated here, the raised ground is at the same time obliged to yield a great variety of Herbs, such as lentiles (*Ervum Lens*) Onions, Radishes Mustard and flax for Oil, and fennel and other kinds of umbelliferous plants used as seasoning in the Dishes of the Natives. These are sown in the intervals between the Drills of Cotton, and ripen during the Winter and Spring. On the same high ground is raised capsicum, crops of this and of cotton being taken alternately. It is sown in November, and ripens in May. In the intervals between the Drills are raised Pumpkins, and other cucurbitaceous fruits,

The only part of Husbandry in this District that deserves praise is the care bestowed on keeping the Ground clean by repeated ploughing, harrowing, and hand-weeding: but all the implements of agriculture, and the Cattle are miserable beyond description, and in a Soil of the least Stiffness would be totally ineffectual. The ploughing is indeed by no means intended to turn the Ground. It merely scratches the surface, divides the Sward, and gives access to the teeth of the harrow, or rather of the Bullock-rake, to lay hold of the Weeds.

While so little attention is paid to the Cattle, we can hardly look for any improvement in the cultivation. No pasture is reserved for the Bullock. He is allowed to pick up what grass he can on the high Roads, on the little Ridges that separate the Rice-fields, and in ditches: and this he can do only in the intervals of labour. Few of the farmers here have even the industry to collect the Rice Straw, which is very good fodder: but the indolent Hindoo cuts off the grain, and leaves the straw on the Ground, where it is partly eaten by the Cattle, partly trodden down, and all consumed long before the hot Season begins, and then it is that the Grass is most scarce. The labour however expected from the Oxen is not great. In this part of the Country they are used only for the Plough, and the Harrow. There are no Carts, and all kinds of Goods are transported entirely in Boats, or on mens heads. In this district the Cow kind may be considered as the only Cattle. There are few Sheep, no Swine, and the small number of Horses kept are used only for the Saddle. There are some Goats, but

I have seen no Buffalos. In such a scarcity of fodder much milk cannot be expected, and in fact it enters very little into the ordinary Diet of the peasant. A great many poor families have indeed a Cow, or a Goat, but the quantity of Milk yielded by one Beast being very small, it is chiefly consumed by the Children.

The Indian ox (*Bos indicus* of Linnaeus), although looked upon by some naturalists as a variety of the European kind, and by others as a Variety of the American Bison, appears to me to be a distinct Species. Of this kind are all the Bullocks I have seen on the East side of the Cape of Good Hope, at Johanna, Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Ava, Batavia, and China. Cultivation has produced many different breeds varying greatly in size and colour: but the smallest Cattle of the African Islands do not differ more from the stately breeds of Surat or Purneah, than the Kylv of the Scotch highlands does from the Ox of Holstein or of Lancashire. The loose pendulous horns, which are common in some of the Breeds of the Indian kind, and which in all it. Vari[e]ties occasionally happen, can be no more considered as Characteristic of a difference of Species, than the want of Horns in the Cattle of Galloway. As the distinguishing marks of this species do not appear to me to have been hitherto well chosen, I would define it thus, *Bos indicus cornibus teretibus, villo aequali laevi, dorso gibbo, collo subtus undulato carinato.*⁷ The accompanying sketches, although rude drawings, are good resemblances. The Ox of this kind is remarkably docile, and like the Camel kneels down to receive, or deliver his Burthen. He is chiefly guided by the tail. The male is far less Vicious than the European Bull, and in place of bellowing, or lowing, the noise he makes is a short harsh grunt. The Indian Cow, when you approach her young, is much more apt to push than the European; and her milk dries up, unless it be daily allowed to suck: nor can the owner draw any milk from the teats of an Indian Cow, unless her calf be present.⁸ The forehead of the Indian Bull is

⁷ Latin: Indian long-horned cattle with a rough unicoloured coat, a hump on their back, and a wavy throat flap.

⁸ Footnote in text:

'Urii, qui Orissam sive Uriam incolunt, vaccae lac recusantes concedere allicunt operatione omnino singulari sed foedissima. Labia ad naturalia applicant et vi summa inflant in hiatum cujus titillatione mingit statim vacca, et lac plerumque prabet. Sed si hoc nihil profuerit, lactarius immittit manum motu leni agitans, dein in nares manum humore viroso oblitum conficans, vaccae uncitatur cupiditates, ita ut, animo in has

smooth, nor has he any mane or hairs conspicuously long, except the tuft on his belly, and that on the tip of his tail, which is formed exactly like that of the European kind. It is by this circumstance chiefly, that the Indian Ox is to be distinguished from the *Bos gruniens* of Thibet. The eyebrows of the Bull and old Cow are wrinkled longitudinally, which gives them a fierce look. Between the European and Indian Cattle there is a great difference in the position of the Rump: that is to say, in the Indian kind it slopes gradually down from the Loins to the beginning of the Tail; but in the European cattle the Rump is almost horizontal. The Hump on the Shoulders of the Indian Bullock is a delicious morsel, and consists of alternate layers of Muscle and fat. I have heard no explanation of its use to the animal. It may perhaps serve to shake the Skin of the animals back, and shoulders, and thus to drive away the flies, that are not within reach of the tail. The Cow is said to go ten months with Calf; but I have had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact number of days.

In no part of India are the Bullocks smaller, or more miserable, than in the neighbourhood of Luckipore. At Calcutta the prevailing colour is white: but all on this side of the Sunderbunds the Cattle are black or brown, and they are much smaller than even at Calcutta. Were they not starved, they would be beautiful from the elegance of their shapes; but they are of a breed that does not seem adapted for profits.

At two o'clock I left Dalol haut, and proceeding up the Banks of the Roymutally about six miles, I came to Mr. Jacksons in the Bulluah District.⁹ No Country which is a dead level, and unadorned

dedito, lac plus non recusat. Haec physiologorum causa dicta licet foeda, condonanda esse spero.' [Latin: 'The Oriyas, who live in Orissa or Oriya, stimulate cows which do not give milk with a quite unusual but most repulsive method. They put their lips to the cow's sexual organ and blow in its opening with the greatest force. This tickling immediately makes the cow urinate and yield most of her milk. But if this is not successful, the milk collector inserts a hand and moves it quietly around, and then rubs his or her hand, covered with the smelly liquid, in the cow's nostrils. This inflames the cow's lust so much that she yields to it and no longer withholds her milk. I hope I can be forgiven for raising this repulsive topic on behalf of the scientists.']

⁹ Dalalhat (now known as Dalalbazar, near Lakshmipur).

'Rummutally' (=Rahmatkhali?) in Rennell's map, now a minor rivulet passing between Lakshmipur and Ratanpur. 'The Southern Part of Dacca and Low Lands of Tiperah; with the Islands in the Mouth of the Ganges, Surveyed by Rennell, Ritchie, Martin & Richards, 1764 to 1773, I. Rennell fecit. 1772'.

by the elegant arts, can be more beautiful than that through which I have to day come. It is one continued field, yielding the richest Crops; free from all the stiffness of regular fences, and only interrupted by the Natives cottages concealed in groves of Fruit Trees, that are variegated with all the irregularity of luxuriant nature. In fact it seems as if laid out by the Genius of some modern English Gardener: but yet it appears to me tedious. An universal sameness prevails. I long to see more marks of Ornament, I long to see Mountains, Hills, and Streams; nay I could even wish to see Hedge Rows, were they in all formality of exact parallelograms, and were their fences smoothed by the most careful shears. Variety in fact is everything in beauty: and I suspect, that our enthusiasm in England for irregularity, clumps of Trees, and open lawns, proceeds more from a satiety of cultivation, than from any elegance in these objects superior to that of rich fields of Corn, separated by straight Rows of fine Trees, and well kept fences.

March 3d.

Mr. Jacksons house stands on the Bank on [of] a fine Pond, the soil of which although very sandy seems to agree better with exotic fruit trees, than any place in this neighbourhood. The Peach in particular thrives well. One nutmeg plant however, that was put in the Ground at the end of the rainy Season, has died. This, he thinks, might have been prevented, had he kept the Plant in a large Pot, and removed it in the Winter into a sheltered place, and not planted it out till the beginning of the rainy Season. It would then have gained strength sufficient to resist the ensuing Winter.

The Banks of a new Tank require a good deal of Cultivation, before they are fit for Cotton: and for some time will only yield a Crop every second year. Cotton Ground from its scarcity in this district lets high. To the actual cultivator Rice Ground is let at about 4

Bhulua (Bulwah, Bhalwa) was the name under which the Noakhali region of greater Tipperah district was long known. It was also the name of a *pargana* (revenue unit) to the South-East of Lokhipur, and its main village.

*Rupees per Kanay*¹⁰, whilst he pays 7 *Rupees* for the *Kanay* of Cotton Ground. Some Cotton is imported at Luckipour from Patna, and a great deal from Chittagong.

March 4th.

I went about 2 miles to see a Mr. Marquard, a native of Finland, and an ingenious Gardener, who has been long in Bengal. He gives me the following account of the agriculture in this District, which if just, will show how badly conducted it is. The *Zemeendar*, or person who holds the lands immediately from the Company, pays 4 *Rupees* a *Kanay* for Rice Ground, 7 or 8 *Rupees* for raised Ground, and 18 *Rupees* for that which has been planted with betel nut. This he lets out in small portions of 3 or 4 *Kanays*, or even less, to the actual Cultivators, who pay him nominally the same Rent. His profit arises from a difference in the measure; the *noll*, or pole, by which the *Zemeendar* receives the Ground, being 28 Cubits long,¹¹ whilst 20 Cubits is the length of that, by which he lets the ground out to the *Grist*¹², or actual Cultivator. It is true, that the *Zemeendar* by various pretexts, especially that of Wages for *peons* or Messengers, generally contrives actually to levy five *Rupees* Six *Annas* per *Kanay*; but Mr. Marquard alleges that this surplus of one *Rupee* six *Annas* does no more than defray the similar extortions, which are made [on the *Zemeendar*¹³] by the native officers of the Collector. Complaints of this nature are not to be Credited on light grounds and perhaps very few of the Collectors ever come to a Knowle[d]ge of them, in such a clear manner as to be able to point out a remedy: for extortions by every man in a publick Employment, however low, by long custom

¹⁰ Footnote in the text (another hand, Buchanan's?):

'The kanay is 12 nolls long by 10 broad. The noll is 20 cubits or 30 feet long. The Kanay therefore is equal to 2 6/10 acres nearly.' There was, however, much local variation in the *kani*. Buchanan's estimate (2.6 acres, or 1.04 ha) may be juxtaposed to Hunter's report on the size of the Noakhali *kani*: 1.6 acres, or 0.65 ha. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal, Volume VI: Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong, Noákháli, Tipperah, Hill Tipperah* (London: Trübner & Co., 1876), 296, 301.

¹¹ One cubit is about 46 cm.

¹² *Grihostho* (Bengali), householder.

¹³ Added in another hand.

have become so rooted among the Inhabitants of this Country, that their eradication, if at all possible, must be the work of the most indefatigable industry, and extreme severity. Mr. Marquard says, that he made the following experiment on the cultivation of Rice. He employed a Servant to cultivate 4 *Kanays* of Ground, and gave him 4 Bullocks. After paying the Rent, and expences of Cultivation, he had on each *Kanay* a profit of only 2 *Rupees*: and in the estimate of expence the labour of the man and oxen was not included. As 4 *Kanays* form the usual Size of the land occupied by one man, it is evident that a family cannot be supported on such a small profit: and in fact, in this part of the Country, there is hardly such a thing as a farmer. Every Artificer, Boatman, Labourer or Servant Rents a small piece of Ground: he pays his Rent, Cloathing, and religious or festival expences by the wages he gets, and by his wife's spinning; and he has the produce of his Ground for food, and for the raw materials of Cloathing. From the smallness of the Farms, and from no mans making agriculture a profession, we may readily account for the miserable state of the Cattle, and implements of Husbandry; and it must be evident, that while such a System prevails, any improvement is impossible.

Mr. Marquard says, that for some years Cotton has been a very unprofitable Crop; and that, where the Soil will admit, the natives always take two crops of Capsicum for one of Cotton; but few places will bear a plan so exhausting. The price of a good Cow, among the natives here, is 4 *Rupees*: and a stout Bullock will cost twice as much. An Englishman would with difficulty get either to purchase, and would pay at least double price.

Complaints, Mr. Marquard says, exist among the Tenants of the Zemeendars, that they cannot improve their lands for want of Security, in particular, that they cannot make raised Ground or Betel nut plantations, without paying the full rent, immediately on bringing them to perfection. This if true, would seem to be a reasonable complaint, and one easily remedied. It is however evident, that the cultivation of the *Areca*, or betel-nut, is in this part of the Country spreading rapidly, owing probably to the great number of Burma boats that now come here and supply themselves from Bengal, in place of importing the Betel from Sumatra. From whatever cause it may proceed, every man near Luckipour of the least property is planting the *Areca* around his house.

To protect the *Areca* while young, the natives plant the Mand[ar] (*Erythrinae incana et fulgens*), which is a tree totally useless for Timber, but it grows very rapidly, the largest branches cutt off, and put into the Ground, immediately take root, and its prickles keep off the Cattle. No plantations of Timber Trees are here made: but the Kantal or Jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) which is much cultivated for the fruit, yields also a timber very fit for the use of the Cabinet maker.

Some time ago Mr. Marquard made a very curious experiment on the Custard Apple tree (*Annona Squamosa*). Having raised a number of young plants till they were about 4 feet high, he cut off the side shoots, and having split the stem down the middle to near the root, he with the point of a Knife scraped out the pith. He then bound together the sides. Out of 70 or 80 plants thus treated, one only lived. For several years it bore fruit without seed, confirming the Doctrine of Linnaeus, that the seed is an emanation from the pith. At length it was unfortunately blown down by a Gale of Wind before any *Cullums*¹⁴ had been taken from it. This practice of propagating trees by *Cullums*, Mr. Marquard says, was well known to many Gardeners in Sweden before he left it. They called it the *Arcanum Magnum*,¹⁵ and by its means produced dwarf fruit trees.

The soil of the banks of Mr. Marquards pond seems to be very favorable for fruit trees, and is not so sandy, as that of Mr. Jacksons. Coffee thrives well with him, but he has not the proper manner of preparing the Seed. [H]e tells me, that a Captain Ford at Chittagong made plantations of Pepper and Coffee, which turned out very unprofitable[;] he does not attribute this to the situation, but to Fords want of economy and attention.

March 5th.

At 7. in the morning I left Mr. Jacksons, and in seven hours went about twenty two miles to Nowacally,¹⁶ the residence of Mr. Harris. At the village of Bullooah the houses of the Natives are better than

¹⁴ *Kolom* (Bengali), a graft.

¹⁵ Latin: 'The Great Secret.'

¹⁶ Old Noakhali town, now washed away by the sea.

any I have seen in a country place in Bengal. They belong to the Zemeendars of a considerable, and very fertile district. [A]t Meenday, and Santasheela,¹⁷ are the two innermost Stations for making Salt in this district. They are placed on the two branches of a Creek, which falls into the Sea at about 4 or 5 miles distance, and brings up Salt Water with every tide. I have examined the process for making salt in Bengal, which is as follows.

On a Piece of low Ground, which is covered by Sea Water at Spring tides, but which is dry during the neaps, there is made a barrow, or mou[n]d of earth, of considerable size, and rising 8 or 10 feet above the plain. In its top is formed a circular cavity, from 12 to 20 feet in diameter, and from 2 to 3 feet in depth. This Cavity is lined with clay. A Bamboo, with its joints perforated, is passed from the bottom of this cavity to the outside of the barrow in a sloping direction, so as to convey any liquid contained in the Cavity to a reservoir lined with clay, which is dug in the Ground at the foot of the barrow. The Saltmakers towards the end of the neaps, when the Water brought up by the preceding springs, has been completely evaporated, and has left the surface of the plain strongly impregnated with Salt, Scrape off this Saline earth, and collect it in heaps near the barrow. The bottom of the circular Cavity is strewed with grass, to allow water to run freely along, and then the cavity is filled with saline earth. A quantity of Salt Water is now poured into the Cavity, which dissolves the Salt in the Earth, and passes through the Bamboo into the reservoir as a strong brine. The Brine that comes first is of course the strongest, and is boiled down into Salt; while that, which comes last, is reserved to be passed again through another parcell of Earth. The Earth, from which the brine has been drawn, is again exposed to the tide and it is alleged that by having been often used, it becomes more and more fit for the purpose.

The brine at Santasheela is boiled in what are called Choolahs or furnaces. A circular pit is dug with two narrow passages to give a communication with the Air. This forms the fire place, the one passage serving to put in the fuel, and the other to let out the smoke. Over the pit, which varies from 10 to 15 feet in diameter, is built an Arch like an Oven, consisting of very small earthen pots, shaped like tumblers, and cemented together with Clay. The Choolah I examined

¹⁷ Coastal villages between Bulua and Noakhali, now washed away.

was said to contain 900 of these Pots: but in this District many contain sixteen hundred. The fire being kindled under this Arch, or dome of pots, they are filled with brine, of which a further supply is occasionally added, as the evaporation advances. Great care must be taken to prevent any of the Pots from burning dry: as in that Case, a kind of solid Mass, of very little value, would be formed of all the perfect and imperfect neutral Salts contained in the brine. For this purpose a workman attends, and with a coconut laddle Shifts the brine from the Potts that are fullest, to those that are nearly dry. Another man with an Iron laddle scoops out the Salt, as it forms, and throws it into a basket shaped like an inverted cone, that is hung up near the furnace. This boiling goes on night and day as long as the dome of Pots will last, which in general is about 7 or 8 days. The last pots are boiled to dryness, and the imperfect Salt contained in them is a perquisite of the workmen. It is used by the poor in the neighbourhood, amongst whom good Salt is considered as a luxury.

In scooping the Salt out from the Pots it is evident, that the workman must at the same time lift up a considerable portion of Brine, and that the Salt must contain some of the Sulphat of lime. [W]hen suddenly cooled, by being thrown into the basket, much of the Sulphats of Soda and Magnesia contained in the brine will crystallize; and unite to the Salt in the Basket, which is that commonly sold by the Company, and which is therefore by no means very pure. In general it contains also earth, sometimes so much as 5 percent of its whole weight. This may in part be owing to the manner in which the brine is prepared, as from its strength it may suspend many of the finer particles of the Clay: but, when the quantity of earth contained in the Salt is very considerable, it is owing to the fraud of the labourers employed, who added earth to increase the weight, or to make up for what they have stolen.

The Brine, which has cooled in the baskets, is saturated with salt, and contains also a small quantity of the Sulphat of Soda and Magnesia, with all the deliquescent Salt of the Sea Water. It filters gradually down to the point of the basket, and from thence falls down in drops: as it is in a very hot, and dry air, a very great evaporation takes place during this dropping, and the pure Salt is much disposed to Crystallize. To favor this the workmen, directly below the point of the basket, fix a Cross Stick, on which there forms an oblong crystallized mass of pure white Salt, which, it is evident, will contain

very little of the bitter Sulphats, and is in fact the best Salt, that can be procured in the Country. Immediately below this is placed on the Ground an inverted Earthen Jar, which also, during one of the boilings of a Choolah, is covered with a crust of excellent Salt about 2 inches thick. The brine runs off by a gutter, and if collected in a small shallow pond lined with clay, when it is exposed to the Action of the Sun and wind, there will form at the bottom a crust of an inch, or half an inch in thickness, and consisting of beautiful small cubical crystals of very pure Salt. [T]he brine which remains is very pungent.

The Salt taken out of the basket, when dry, is in a powder like sand. It is collected together in large Stores; and if it is k[e]pt long there, it loses some of its weight, and becomes sweeter: at the same time it unites into a kind of Rock Salt, to break which requires the force of Crows and pick axes.¹⁸

The Country between Luckipour and Nowacally seems to be not so well cultivated, as that between Puttahaut and Luckipour. The intervals between the plantations, in which the natives dwell, are much greater, and many places are in a state of nature. The tanks are large: but their banks are heaped up in a mound, so that they afford no ground for the cultivation of Cotton, or Capsicum. Little Crop therefore is raised except Rice, which in this Province is the least valuable of any. There are few Areca Trees. The ground is lower than near Puttahaut, and every Ditch contains *sunder bund* plants.¹⁹ On the way I observed a few buffalos: but they do not appear to be common.

March 6th.

In the evening I left Nowacally, and travelled about 18 Miles to Joogdya,²⁰ where I slept in an empty bungalow. In passing several Creeks I observed, that the soil was very strongly impregnated with Salt, which formed a Crust on the surface of the Ground like hoar

¹⁸ Salt-making was forbidden in 1862, and salt was henceforth imported from Liverpool. Hunter, 189.

¹⁹ As found in the marshy forests of the *Sundarbans* in south-central Bengal.

²⁰ Jugdia. Village at the mouth of the Little Feni river, now washed away by the sea.

frost. The fuel used here by the Saltmakers consists of the leaves of the Hogla and Cog (*Typha*²¹ *elephantina*, and *Aurundo tibialis* Rox). The country, through which I passed, is like that between Luckipour and Nowacally. Many buffalos are here kept, and used for the plough. In enduring heat and labor, they are not so hardy as the Bullock; but, as no Tiger will venture to attack them, they are a safer property, where these ferocious Beasts frequent, as they do in the neighbourhood of all the Salt works. The female buffalo also yields more milk than the Indian Cow, and from this milk is prepared the greater part of the Ghee, or boiled butter. The District of Joogdya has long been suffering from the encroachments of the Sea: and it is alleged that the old French Factory of Joogdya was on the same spot, which the factory on Baminy Island²² now occupies.

March 7th.

I set out at Sun rise, and travelled about 10 miles to Mr. Br..²³ at Ameerong.²⁴ The country resembles that I yesterday saw. Very little Cotton is raised: and what is cultivated is produced by parts of the s[o]il that are naturally high. As much cloth is manufactured in this neighbourhood, so a great importation of Cotton takes place, and that chiefly from Sundee Island.²⁵ Flax is much cultivated for its Oil. It is raised; not only in the intervals between Cotton drills, as at Puttahaut, but also in fields containing nothing else. The Crop is now ripe: but very poor. In Great Britain it would not be reckoned worth the labor of pulling. It has been sown very thin, in Order, I suppose, to allow the Seeds more easily to ripen, for the Stem is considered by the natives as useless. Ameerong was lately a *Chaar* covered with long grass, which produced from 3 to 4. Rupees a Kanay, when cut, and sold to the Saltboilers. The district is now cultivated, and the Fenny river is encroaching on the opposite side.

²¹ Xypha?

²² Bamni Island, a large island off the south coast of Noakhali, later washed away by the Bamni river. Buchanan may refer to the cloth factory which the East India Company established at Jugdia in 1756. Hunter, 247.

²³ Illegible: Brown?

²⁴ Amirgaon (Rennell: 'Ammangunge'), now Feni.

²⁵ Sandwip Island off northern Chittagong.

Although the Town of Ameergong does not contain above 20 Houses, its market is frequented by a Crowd of people: for the greater part of the natives pass much of their time at these places. The purchases made are very inconsiderable. It is conversation, that attracts the multitude, and this is carried on with a vociferation and Volubility hardly credible. At this small place, as at most other markets, are several houses occupied by prostitutes, whose Company is frequented in the most open manner by the natives, married as well as unmarried.

March 8th.

I set out very early, and after passing the little Fenny, the Dandara, and great Fenny,²⁶ I at 10 o'clock came to a Bungalo erected by the Gentlemen of Chittagong for the accommodation of Travellers. [T]he Road, which I passed to day, was very bad; and the Boats I could procure at the two Fennys, were inconvenient, dirty, and unsafe, especially at the great Fenny, which at high water is at least a mile Wide.

The Country, soil, and Agriculture resemble those at Joogdya, which is on the opposite Side of the little Fenny: but on this side there seems to be more inhabitants. A good deal of Salt is made on the South Side of the Great Fenny. No fish can be had at the Fenny Bungalo by an European Traveller: but this cannot be from want, as it is in the immediate neighbourhood of both the Sea, and a great River.

At 3. in the afternoon I left the Fenny bungalo, and went about 12 Miles to Meerkaserai,²⁷ where also there is a bungalo for the accommodation of passengers. The district, by which we enter the province of Chittagong, is named Aurungabad. It is a plain lying between the Sea and a Ridge of Hills, which separates Aurungabad from another Pergunnah situated on the Hauldah or Havildar River.²⁸ Between the Fenny and Meerkaserai the plain is of

²⁶ The Little Feni river, a stream in pargana Dandara to its east, and the Feni river which forms the boundary with the district of Chittagong.

²⁷ Mirkaserai. Now called Mirshorai, an upozilla centre on the Chittagong-Dhaka road.

²⁸ Holda river.

considerable breadth: but it is not quite so level as the Southern parts of Tiperah. Small swells are observable, and the plain slopes gradually towards the Sea: nor eve[n] during the rainy Season does the tide come up to Meerkaserai. The view of the hills here is extremely agreeable to a person long confined to the perpetual uniformity of the Gangetic plains, and in some respects this season is favorable to the prospect: for the Woods, in recovering their Verdure, have assumed a great variety of tints. The plain is apparently not so populous as the Country between Puttahaut and Luckipour; nor perhaps is it on the whole so well cultivated: yet in many respects it appears to more advantage. The condition of the Cattle is rather better: and the winter crops are surrounded by slight bamboo fences, which, however imperfect, convey an idea of improvement to a person, who in Bengal has seen nothing of the kind. In other respects the cultivation here is slovenly. [A] great many of the Ridges, that separate the Rice fields, are large, and covered with bushes and Weeds.

In this district there are annually two Crops of Rice: but although the wages of the labourers are much lower than in Tiperah, the Rice is seldom Cheap. The Winter crop here is chiefly capsicum, which appears greatly more luxuriant than at Puttahaut, owing probably to many of the fields being watered. The Banks of the tanks are high and of course cannot be cultivated for Cotton, of which very little is raised in the plains of Chittagong. The soil here seems stiffer than that at Puttahaut, and the sand it contains is chiefly silicious or of quartz. About the houses of the natives a good deal of Sugar Cane is cultivated: and on the way I heard [the] creaking of several of the mills employed in expressing the Juice.

The Hills, which lie between the Sea and the Havildar River, are of some considerable width: but are not high. They are inhabited by three different races of people, by the Bengalese called Joomeas, Tiperahs, and Chakmas.²⁹ These people all cultivate Jooms,³⁰ in which they raise cotton, rice, ginger, and several other plants, which they sell to the Bengalese in return for Salt, fish, earthen-ware, and Iron. They have no Cattle: but rear Goats, Swine, and poultry; and are said not to be destitute of Riches. They frequently change their places

²⁹ Marmas, Tipperas and Chakmas. These and other terms referring to ethnic groups are explained in the *Index of Ethnic Groups*.

³⁰ *Jhum* (Bengali), (a plot under) shifting cultivation.

of abode, as my informers say, owing chiefly to the incursions of a very savage people called Koongkies,³¹ who live at a great distance, but who frequently make attacks on the inhabitants of the hills. These hills abound also in timber: the red or Thorny Jarool (*Lagerstromia spinosa* B:), the Talsaree, the Soorusbed (*Cedrella Toona* Rox:), the usual (*Vitex firma* B:), the Kalibole, and Cheekarussy (*Sweitenia Chekrassy* Roxb), which beautiful wood seems to derive its name from its fibres being variegated with the colour of the Snipe.

March 10th.

Early in the morning I walked out to the foot of the hills, ascending the banks of a small rivulet. The ground rises gradually, but slowly, and is never inundated. It is however divided into small plots surrounded by ridges to confine the rain water, and thus is capable of producing either two annual Crops of Rice, or any crop that will not thrive on inundated lands. No distinction therefore is here made in the rent on Account of the difference of Crop; but the ground, according to the goodness of the Soil, pays to the Zemeendar from 3 to 6 Rupees per Kanay. The farms occupied here by the Cultivators are from 2 to 5 Kanays of the Chittagong measure, which is larger than that used at Luckipour.³² The houses have a better appearance, than those of the peasantry in Tiperah. In general they are surrounded by a small yard, neatly fenced by a Wall made of Mats. The people themselves however, and the contents of their huts, appear to be nearly equally miserable: but from the mildness of the Climate, they certainly suffer less, than a person, accustomed to View the English labourer only, would from their apparent poverty be apt to imagine.

Much Sugar cane is here raised. At present it is planting, and this also is crop Season, so that the Cane here takes one year exactly to ripen. Ratans are never left, as in the West Indies. The ground for planting the cane is well prepared by digging, and gets dung. In the intervals between the Cane-ridges is planted the Ricinus, which yields Castor Oil. This by the Natives is used for the lamp, as well as in

³¹ 'Kukis', a generic name for people belonging to various Chin/Mizo/Zou groups.

³² According to Hunter, however, the Chittagong *kani* is 0.4 acre or 0.25 ha. Hunter, 164.

medicine.

When I came to the foot of the hills, I found small Vallies running up amongst them. These Vallies were leveled into cultivated plains, and I had a very pleasant botanical walk among them, the plants on the hills being quite different from those, that grow on the levels of Bengal. The morning was fine, and the rich fields, interspersed with steep wooded hills, afforded a very agre[e]able prospect. The scene was enlivened by a number of common fowl in their native State, and by the calling of Deer, then returning from their nocturnal depredations on the plains. During the night my people had been alarmed at the Bungalo, by many dreadful stories concerning Tigers: but as I advanced no farther, than I found the natives entrusted their Cattle, the most valuable part of their property, I did not apprehend any danger. I believe indeed, that wherever the traveller finds Cattle, he may venture to go with very little risk from the Tiger.

The Soil of the level Ground, as it approaches the hills, contains more and more sand, but although in the hills themselves this quality is greatly predominant, yet they are far from being barren. I saw no stone nor Rock: but was informed, that in the more int[er]ior parts of the hills, there are both. No place, that I have yet seen, seems so favourable for trying the cultivation of Spices, as the little Vallies: as they are well sheltered by the Hills from the cold northern Winds, and as, during the rainy Season, the water may be allowed to lodge, or to run off, as may be found to Answer best.

I left Meerkaserai in the afternoon, and in the evening came to a Bungalo, built near a considerable Village named Seetacoon,³³ or the Well of the Goddess Seeta. As I advanced, the Valley became gradually narrower, and the Hills more rocky and steep. The Country, through which I passed, is very neatly cultivated, the ridges of the Rice Grounds being small, straight, and clear of bushes. It is in every respect superior in appearance to the country about Luckipour.

March 11th.

Before sun-rising, I set out to visit Seetacoon Hill, and at 10 oClock I returned after a good deal of fatigue. The bungalo is about

³³ Sitakund, now an upozila in northern Chittagong.

half a mile from the foot of the hills. On the way thither I saw a natives House built of Brick, a thing very rare indeed in the country parts of Bengal. At the bottom of the low Hills the cultivation all at once ceases, and does not run in among the interjacent Vallies as at Meerkaserai. This I should therefore judge to be a place less likely, than that, to afford a situation proper for Spice plants. Proceeding a little way up a valley, I came to some religious Brick buildings of the Hindoos, where I observed the bed of the rivulet to contain small stones. I now followed the course of this winding stream, and having passed all the low Hills, I began to ascend the steep rocky ridge, that forms the height of the land, and of which the highest part is Seetacoon Hill. Having near the bottom of the ridge mounted a very bad stair, I came to the burning Rock, which is situated by the Side of the Stream. This rock, like all those in the Hill, consists of indurated clay mixed with sand, which from its appearance I judged to be both of a flinty, and micaceous nature. It is disposed in thin plates like schistus, and the strata dip towards the east with an Angle of about 40 Degrees. From 3 or 4 openings, or chinks, in the Veins of this Rock, distant on the whole 5 or 6 feet, proceeds the fire, which burns constantly, when not by accident extinguished. Rain, I was informed, increases the flame; and so far I know, that water may be poured on it without diminishing its violence. The flame may however be readily extinguished by fanning it strongly with a hat fan, or other similar contrivance: and it is easily rekindled by bringing a bit of burning stick within an inch or two of the Chink; but it will not spontaneously take fire. It kindles suddenly, but without any explosion. The flame in general rises about a feet high, its lower part being blue, and its upper red. I could perceive no smell about the place, except that of Ghee or melted rancid butter, considerable quantities of which are daily poured into the Chinks by the Natives. Having put into one of these three or four feet of a small Bamboo, I drew it out all over covered with Ghee: but this Ghee, I found, would not burn without a wick: I could not therefore attribute to it the flame proceeding from the Chinks. I suppose, that the fire proceeds from hydrogene, which being generated in the bow[els] of the Rock escapes by these openings. It must however be confessed that this was not confirmed by my experiments. After having blown out the fire, I three times emptied a phial of Water close over the mouth of the Chink, so that whatever vapours proceeded from thence must have entered the phial in place

of the water: but I could produce no flame by applying a burning stick to the mouth of the Phial. The Air however thus procured was extremely light, as the smoke from the stick, when it was put to the phial, instantly fell to the bottom.

Advancing a little above the burning rock, I came to a number of religious buildings, and saw on a neighbouring hill the houses of many Hindoo Priests, who constantly reside at the place, and who seem to make a good living by the Charity of the devout persons that Visit the holy places in the neighbourhood. The deity principally here worshipped is Sheev or Lingam. The priests did not seem to know who had built their Temples. They said it had been done a very long time ago, perhaps an hundred years. From these Temples I ascended a very steep path, on which had been made a narrow stone gutter; that from the upper part of the stream conveys to the temples below a small rill of water. After loosing this path, I ascended many precipices of Rock and clay, and at length came to the summit of the hill, on which is a small temple of the indecent God, and near it a thatched Hut for the accommodation of those, who have travelled far to perform their Devotions. The temple has formerly been in a more perfect state, than at present. In every stone are still to be seen the holes, into which were formerly inserted the Iron Clamps, that united the foundation. The superstructure seems more recent, is formed of Brick and plaster, and perhaps occupies a situation formerly dedicated to the worship of Godama.³⁴ The priests, who live below, make at this Temple daily offerings of Oil, flowers, fruit and other Vegetable productions: but no bloody sacrifices are received by the God of generation. Near the temple I observed several stones cut into various fanciful shapes, which also are considered as objects of Adoration. The foundation of the temple, the Images of the God, and the other carved objects of Superstition, are formed of a dark coloured Stone, which cuts well, but does not take a polish. It is found in detached blocks in different parts of the hill. Two of these blocks, which I saw on the way up, were of very considerable Size, and rounded as if by the Action of Water. Some of the priests residing here make a considerable gain by cutting these stones into images, which they send into Bengal for sale.

I was greatly disappointed in the view from the summit of

³⁴ Gautama, i.e. the Buddha.

Seetacoon hill. The Horizon was thick, so that I could see neither the Islands in the mouths of the Ganges, nor the Valley watered by the Havildar. Low hills extend about 4 Coss³⁵ east from the Ridge, on which I stood, and are occupied by small tribes of Mugs and Tiperahs, who cultivate Jooms, and at the temple on the hill adore the God of generation.

On my way back I was kindly received by the Priests, who had made ready for my use some cool water, some plantains, and a coco-nut, of which the juice proved highly refreshing. To my people I heard them ridiculing the opinion, which some European Gentlemen had expressed, of the phenomenon of the fire being artificial: and I was allowed, I believe intentionally, to overhear the praise bestowed on a Lady³⁶, who had lately visited the place and whose liberality was the subject of peculiar encomium.

In the evening I went about 6 miles to Bansbaria,³⁷ to which I had kindly been invited by Mr. Madern. In some places on this road betelnut is cultivated. I observed, that the high middle Ridge extends a little way only to the South of Seetacoon; and that from thence to Chittagong Town all the hills are low.

March 12th.

At dawn of day I set out with Mr. Maddern to visit Bara[coon]³⁸ and travelled two miles in the plain before we entered a narrow Valley. This for a little way we found cultivated, like those Vallies I saw at Meerkaserai: but the Soil here did not seem to be favorable. As we advanced, the Valley became narrower, allowing room only for its small stream. Near the source of this we came to the Burning-well, a place much frequented by Hindoo Pilgrims. There are here several small temples dedicated to Sheev, and other Gods: and on the spot reside some Priests, who from the contributions of the faithful are

³⁵ One *krōsh* (Bengali) = a little over two miles (3.2 km).

³⁶ Footnote in the text:

'No European Lady had lately been at the place: but as every European is stiled Saheb or Lord by the Bengalese, so with equal propriety every native woman kept by an European is called Bibee Saheb or Lady.'

³⁷ Now a union under Sitakund upozila.

³⁸ Barabakund, now a union under Sitakund upozila.

said to make annually 5000 Rupees. Some time ago an attempt was made by a Native to share in this holy weal[th]. He alleged, that in the sacred writings of the Hindoos, there was pointed out to be in the Vicinity a Well possessed of many extraordinary virtues. He pretended, that he had discovered the Well so described; and hoisting a flag near a neighbouring Spring, he began to be considered as a holy man, and one favoured by the God, who had endowed the Well with such wonderful powers. At length the concourse of people began to be diverted from Baracoon to this new place of Worship. The priests of the more an[c]ient holy place were now seriously alarmed, and, as usual having induced the populace to take part in the dispute, had recourse to Violence: but that having been by similar means repelled, the matter was then brought before the Judge of the Province. The priests of Baracoon, very wisely, made no enquiry concerning the authenticity of the passage of the Sacred writings brought forward by the adversary: but they challenged this intruder to show, that his Well was possessed of such Virtues, as in his eagerness to establish its reputation, he at first had rashly pretended. As in this he entirely failed, the Well being a spring of excellent good Water, he was nonsuited, and ordered to pull down his flag, and to leave the profit of pilgrimage to its former possessors.

The Burning-well is in a small square building, covered above with an Arch, and consisting of a room above that containing the Well, and an Antichamber. From the Antichamber a Vile stair leads down to the Well; but so unskilful in Architecture are the Natives, that no access can be had, into the inner Room, without stepping across the trap mouth of this Stair. In the center of the inner room is a large square opening, through which there is an excellent view of the Well, and of the chamber in which it is contained. While we were from above examining the appearance of the flame, our Hindoo Servants rushed into the Water, and pouring it on the fire, adored the Divinity of the place with hideous yells. On going down into the lower Chamber, I found the well surrounded by a Path about three feet wide, in a corner of which was an Image of Lingam. The Well itself is about 8 feet long, 6 broad, and 3 Deep. The water boils in it, but not from the heat; the ebullition is occasioned by the strength of the Spring, and perhaps in part by the evolution of Vapours. The heat of the Water is greater, than that of the atmosphere: but not so great, as to be dis[agreea]ble to the feel. The water is kept in its present form by

Artificial buildings. On one side of the Well is a small platform of Mason work, about 8 feet long, three feet wide and two feet high. In its summit is a circular opening about 4 inches in Diameter, through which a constant flame ascends, and through which the interior parts of the platform are to be seen red hot. In the side of this platform next the water, and immediately above the surface, are many Chinks, from which bursts the flame, at times spontaneously going out, at times shifting from chink to Chink, and at times covering the whole surface of the well. Mr. Maddern, who has been often at the place, said he had never before seen it burn with so much Violence. When water is thrown either against these Chinks, or into the aperture in the [top] of the platform, it extinguishes the flames: but after a short time these burst forth again of their own accord. I imagine, that the fire here proceeds from the same Cause, as that at the burning rock; and that in a state of nature both places would have nearly a similar appearance, the difference in the phenomena arising from the art used at Baracoon. The platform confining all the Air into one place, makes the heat and light greater; and parts of it being always red hot, rekindle the Air, when the flame of any part has been extinguished. It was however in vain, that I attempted to collect any inflammable gas in a Phial.

The water in the Well has a maukishness to the taste, but no colour nor smell, except what proceeds from the Ghee falling into it from the offerings daily made to the image of Lingam. It contains some kind of Muriat³⁹, as the solution of Silver in the Nitriacid renders it very white. A pale cloud is formed in it by the Volatile Alkali, and to the infusion of litmus it communicates a slight purple tinge. I added to it calcareous liver of Sulphur, epsom Salts, the three mineral Acids, soda, and the muriat of Ammonia, without observing any Change. It forms a lather with the solution of Soap. It produces no change on the colour of paper tinged with Brazil wood, turmeric, or litmus, nor with the last turned red by Vinegar.

The Rocks in the stream at Baracoon resemble in structure those at Seetacoon. In the hills between Baracoon and Chittagong no Jooms are cultivated.

At a quarter before four in the afternoon I set off for Chittagong, and passing through a fine level country, at 9 oClock came to

³⁹ Chloride.

Jaffirabad. In several places I observed the plantations of tobacco just beginning to push out the flowering stem: for here the plant is allowed to flower, before any of the leaves are removed for use. In this district the betel nut also seems to be a good deal cultivated. At Jaffirabad I inclined towards the left, and entered among the Hills, the road winding through the little Vallies, by which these are separated. Here my people took many precautions to frighten away the Tigers, which they conceived to be very numerous on the way.

13th 20 of March

These days I passed at Chittagong, in order to procure the things necessary to enable me to proceed to the Southward, and by the kindness of the Gentlemen at Chittagong, I was provided with whatever I wanted. I shall defer my observations on the place till my final departure.

21st. March

At half past 5 in the morning I set out, and at Sunrising came to Putterghaut,⁴⁰ a ferry across the Curnafooly River,⁴¹ which here is about a mile wide. Two miserable Boats were half an hour in carrying me and my people across. We afterwards rowed up a Creek, which comes from the South, and landed on its East Side at half past seven. During the rainy Season there is, by this Creek, a communication between the Curnafooly and Sunkowty Rivers.⁴² I proceeded towards this last by land, passing through a populous level Country. Towards the left the plain extends very far, but to the right between me and the Sea, were low hills, as far as I could judge exactly resembling those at Chittagong. [T]he level Country consists almost entirely of Rice Fields. I here saw no Sugar, Capsicum nor other winter crop, the pulse having already been reaped. The Cattle are very numerous, especially Bullocks and Goats, and there also are a good many buffalos. The

⁴⁰ Pathorghata.

⁴¹ Kornofuli river.

⁴² Shongu (Sangu) river.

Bullocks are equally miserable as those at Luckipour.

At 10 o'clock I arrived at the Ferry named Chaundpore,⁴³ where the River Sunkowty or Sunkar is about a quarter of a mile across. I here began to experience those difficulties, to which in the unfrequented parts of Bengal the European traveller is always liable, unless he is of high rank, or carries along with him every thing he can want. Although a day before I had sent on a part of my Servants, it was with the utmost difficulty, that I could procure a Canoe to carry me across the River; nor till three o'clock in the afternoon would either I, or any of my followers, taste a bit of provisions. This difficulty in procuring necessaries, where they are in the utmost profusion, I believe, proceeds partly from the impositions practised by Gentlemen's Servants, whom it is almost impossible to prevent from taking things without payment: but I am convinced, that it chiefly proceeds from that aversion, which the Bengalese, like all other conquered Nations, entertain against their Vanquishers: yet no Conquerors have ever conducted themselves with more moderation, than the English in Bengal have done.

In the evening I walked out among the Chooramoonie Hills,⁴⁴ which commence at the bank of the Sunkar, and run South to a considerable distance. The Hills are low and Sandy; but, so far I saw, narrow fertile Vallies run through among them in all directions. Although almost pure sand prevails in some parts of these Vallies, yet in general their soil is excellent, and they are cultivated [for] Rice. But I am informed, that a little farther South than I went, the cultivation in the Vallies entirely ceases, and the whole is occupied by Elephants, Tigers, Hogs, and Deer. The porcupine, and ba[.]soor (*ursus tetradactylus* Kers translation of Gmelin), are said to burrow in these hills in great numbers. The Hills here are by many of the Natives chosen as situations for their Houses: while in several places their Roots are planted with betel-nut, bangun (*Solanum melongena*), tobacco, and capsicum. [For] trying the cultivation of spices, the situation does not appear to be preferable to that of many places in Chittagong.

The ridge of high hills, that is visible from Chittigong⁴⁵, is also

⁴³ Chandpur, in Banskali upozila.

⁴⁴ Now known as the Banskali or Satkania range, to the south named Jaldi range.

⁴⁵ Buchanan usually spells 'Chittagong' this way.

seen from Chooramoonie. It runs North and South, and by the Natives is called Muin.⁴⁶ They say, that it bounds on the East the Country belonging to Kaung-la-pru,⁴⁷ Chief of a people they name Joomea Mugs.

In many tanks, both in this pergunnah of Doohazary, and in that of Aurungabad, I observe, that the natives cultivate a Kutchu,⁴⁸ or Arum, like that which in the West Indies is called Eddoe. Within the great mound of the tank, which in this province is always at some distance of the excavation, small level spots are enclosed by a low ridge of mud. In these spots the Arum is planted very close, and daily watered from the tank.

Near where I took up my quarters, were collected 30 or 40 Houses belonging to fishermen, who in Bengal frequently lead Vagabond lives, usually changing their abode every two or three years, and paying to the Zemeendars a trifling Ground rent for the space occupied by their houses. [A]lthough they are considered as of a low class, their women are remarked as being rather fair, and very well looked: and their scolding, when compared with the fluency and coarseness usual in that of their Countrywomen, possesses not that eminence of Vulgarity, by which in Europe the altercations of Women of this Class are distinguished.

22d. March

At day break I set out for Companyshaut,⁴⁹ distant about 14. Miles. I proceeded to the South east, having close to my right the Chooramoonie hills, and to the left a fine level Country extending to the Sunkowty River. The Country is extremely beautiful, and much resembles that at Meerkasera: but it is better watered, fine springs from the Hills pouring down their clear water. Three of these form

⁴⁶ *Mōn* (Chakma), mountain. Buchanan also calls this range Muin moora, Moony moora, Muin pahar, and Moony pahar. *Pahar* is mountain in Bengali. He probably refers to the Mranga (Muranja) range in the western Chittagong Hill Tracts.

⁴⁷ Kaung Hla Hpru, the Marma leader.

⁴⁸ *Kochu* (Bengali).

⁴⁹ Company's Hat. From *hat* (Bengali), market. Company's Hat was not a village, but only a market place located at or near Satkania.

considerable streams called Doodoora, Sooipoora, and Kunchana.⁵⁰ The farmers bank up the Channels of these Rivulets, and spread the water all over the Rice fields below. By this means, in favourable seasons, they are enabled in these fields to have annually three Crops of Rice. They can have two Crops only, where they depend entirely on the rain. These watered fields are now ploughing up for the first crop. In the fields, that cannot be artificially watered, no ploughing can take place, till the Ground has been softened by Rain, of which none has this year fallen. On the Banks of the Sunk[ar] some wheat also is cultivated.

The people are now busy planting Sugar Cane, of which a good deal is here raised. The leaves of the preceding crop, which has lately been cut down, are burned, and the ashes with cow dung serve for manure. The field is then well laboured, and levelled, and afterwards divided into beds, 20 feet long and 2 broad. These beds are separated by ridges, about half a foot high, and as much broad, which serve to confine the water bestowed on the young plants. In these beds the joints of the Sugar cane are placed obliquely, with one end projecting about three inches above the surface. The joints are placed in the bed sometimes in one R[ow], sometimes in two, and are distant from each other about one foot. The joints are carefully watered, till they push out young Shoots. The earth is then gathered up about them in ridges, and this operat[ion] serves for weeding.

Near Puckurea,⁵¹ a Village not far from Chandpoor, are the remains of Indigo plantations. The plant was cultivated on the roots of the little hills by Mr. Bird, when he resided in this Province[:] but has since been neglected.

The Soil of the plain is very light, and the Channels of the streams are in general pure Sand: but in many places I observed stiff blue clay, and in many others an intermixture of martial Ochre. The large timber Trees have mostly been removed from the Chooramoony hills, especially from such of them as are in the Vicinity of cultivation. None of these hills appear to be steep, nor to be above 200 feet high; and were the brush-wood cut down, they would no doubt be a fine resource for the cattle of the natives, especially during the rainy Season. At their bottoms are many small spots, which would produce

⁵⁰ Durdura, Suipura and Kanchona.

⁵¹ Pukuria.

Cotton, betel nut, and other useful plants: but although the soil in many of these places is good, and well watered, it does not appear to promise fairer to Answer for the cultivation of Spices, than the Vallies at Chittagong. All the Vallies, I have to day seen, are exposed to the North Winds.

At 10 oClock I arrived at Companyshaut, which is not a Town or Village. It consists of a piece of Ground raised above the plain, of considerable extent, and planted with Tamarind and Bur Trees (*Ficus indica*): under the Shade of these the people, on market days, assemble from all the neighbouring Country. This was Market day, and I was an object of great curiosity to the whole multitude. From the inhabitants I had many complaints of the rapacity of my people, and from them of the impositions of the inhabitants: both complaints, I believe were well founded.

A Mussulman of this place, who pretended to be well acquainted with the Country to the east, informed me, that after crossing the Dulloo Nullah,⁵² which runs from the South, and at a little distance from hence falls into the Sunkar, you come to a Bengalese Village named Kaung-la-prus' haut.⁵³ East from thence is another nullah named Sualuk,⁵⁴ which also comes from the South. East from the Sualuk is a Village of the same name, the residence of Kaung-la pru Rajah. From the residence of Kaungla pru to his Haut, or market, this man says, takes a person walking one and a half Ghurry.⁵⁵ From the haut of Kaungla-pru to that of the Company takes 6 Ghurries. The Subjects, or tribe, of Kaung-la-pru are by the Bengalese named Joome[a,] and a tradition prevails, that about 40 years ago they came to their present residence from the Dominions of Rossawn or Ara[kan]. These Joomeas are tributary to the Company, and differ from the Chakmas, who are subject to Taub-boka Rajah.⁵⁶ From hence to Sualuk the Road is said to be very good.

The high range of Hills which I yesterday called Muin, t[he] Mussulman names Moony moora. He says, that beyond them is the

⁵² Dolu river, the principal tributary of the Shongu river in Chittagong. *Nala* (Bengali), channel.

⁵³ Kaung Hla Hpru's Hat (market).

⁵⁴ Sulok or Suwalok river.

⁵⁵ *Ghori* (Bengali), an hour.

⁵⁶ Tabbar Khan, the Chakma chief. Cf. T.H. Lewin, *Wild Races of the Eastern Frontier of India* (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1984 [originally published in 1870]), 163.

Naaff,⁵⁷ but that it does not extend so far to the North, as this place. [B]etween Kaung-la-prus Country and the Naaff, he says, there are two tribes of Koong-kys: the one subject to the Seitinja-rajah, the other to the Bunnya Rajah, a friend and dependant of the former.⁵⁸ They have slaves, whose thighs are tatooed like those of the Auksa, as the Burmas are called by the Natives of this province.⁵⁹ East from Companyshaut is also another independant tribe, named Bonjoogy,⁶⁰ and subject to Samle[...] Rajah. I have had reason since to believe, that this mans knowle[d]ge extended no farther than Sualuk.

I find, that the appellation of Mug⁶¹ is given by the people of this province to all the Tribes, and nations, east from Bengal, who as differing from the Hindoos, and Mussulmans, are considered as having no Cast, and as therefore being highly contemptible.

March 23d.

At day-break I left Companys haut, and went on to the So[uth,] passing through a fine level Country well cultivated and inha[bited.] The Chooramoonnee hills were to the right at some distance. They send forth many small streams, which by the Dulloo are conveyed into the Sunkar. About 8 oClock we entered a Branch of the hills, which extends a considerable way to the Eastward. They were low and Sandy, and covered with brush-wood. The narrow vallies between them were cultivated for Rice. The houses of the Natives are bu[ilt] on the hills. I am informed, that the Vallies all through the Chooramoonnee hills would admit of a similar cultivation. The stumps of Trees, still remaining in several of these, through which I to day passed, show how lately they have been cleared. The sloping parts of the hills are in general sandy: nor did I observe any spot of considerable Size, that had a rich Soil, except the Rice Grounds, and

⁵⁷ Naf river, which now forms the boundary between Bangladesh and Burma.

⁵⁸ Buchanan later identifies 'Bunnya Rajah' with 'Agunnya Rajah.'

⁵⁹ Buchanan usually uses the term 'Burmas' to refer to Burmans, an ethnic group, but sometimes to 'Burmese', people living in Burma irrespective of ethnic affiliation. *Auk-tha* means native of Lower Burma.

⁶⁰ Bon-zu or Bawm. See Hans-Jürgen Spielmann, *Die Bawm-Zo: eine Chin-Gruppe in den Chittagong Hill Tracts (Ostpakistan)* (Heidelberg: Südasiens-Institut, 1968), 39f.

⁶¹ Mog (Bengali).

in the rainy Season these are overflowed.

After passing some Miles through these little hills and Vallies, with occasionally in the defiles very bad road, we came to a fine Valley named Choonooty.⁶² Here I expected to have met the people, I had sent on to procure provisions; but as they had gone in search of the Inhabitants, who had run away on hearing of the arrival of an European, I was disappointed, and it was eleven oClock before I could find them. The Seekdars,⁶³ or head-men of the place, who were brought to find me in provisions, were very easily satisfied, and finding themselves civil[l]y used, and well paid, implored me to mention their Case to the Judge. They declared, that they had run away, not from any aversion to supply travellers with provisions, but because the Zemeendar, on whom they were entirely dependant, took from them whatever money they got in this way. Such Reports can only with great caution be Credited: for it is very probable, that these men had some dispute with the Zemeendar, and wished to prejudice the Judge against him. In this province the Natives are singularly litigious, so that no man is looked upon as of any consequence, who has not a few Causes in Court, and the number of Suits now depending are said considerably to exceed twenty thousand.

The Choonooty Valley runs down from the W.S.W. to the E.N.E., and is well defended from cold Winds by Sandy hills, which towards its upper end, produce very fine Trees of many different Kinds. Among these is the Mango in its natural state, which then is said to yield a valuable timber. A deep gully, containing a small stream of good water, runs through the level ground, and, should it be required, gives an opportunity of keeping, at all seasons, the plain clear of water. The soil is tolerably good: nor have I yet seen any place, that appears to me so likely to Answer for the cultivation of Spices. Many places of the Soil contain martial Ochre. Elephants and wild hogs prove here so destructive, that some of the upper parts of the Valley are, on that account, left uncultivated. I am told, that tomorrow I shall follow a route, that is frequented by a very large and fierce Elephant, of which the natives pretend to be afraid.

In a Country like this province, every where abounding with good Springs, it seems odd, that the Natives should not dig wells. It would

⁶² Chunoti, now a union under Satkania upozila, Chittagong district.

⁶³ *Shikdar* (Bengali), title of influential villagers.

appear, that having come from Bengal, and having been there habituated to Tanks, they have here also made these reservoirs to collect the Rain, and consequently drink the same execrable water that is commonly used in Bengal. A large tank has been dug at the place, where I have to day stopped, and all my people use its abominable water, although they are not a hundred yards from a pure running stream.

24th. March

Shortly after sun-rise I set out, and entered among the Hills immediately south from Choonooty, or as Mr. Rennell calls it, Sunouttee. Here is a considerable extent of tolerable Ground, which is level, and clear, and has evidently within these few years been cultivated for Rice, but now is deserted. Although the soil is light, yet trees thrive in it well, and the hills all around afford good shelter. The rivulet passing through drains it, so that it can never be overflowed. As we advanced the Vallies became very narrow, the hills steep, and the road very bad. The soil although very sandy produced amazingly fine Trees, and many Bamboos affording to the traveller a cool shade. After much labour we passed through these hills, where we found some labourers making a Road, and descended into some narrow bottoms full of Springs, which run into the Hurvung or Harbung rivulet. This runs South through a Valley of the same name, and falls into the Barratulla, which joining the Mamooree enters the Sea by the Mascally.⁶⁴ The Hills I have passed are therefore the boundary of the Sunkowty Valley.

The Valley Hurvung runs down from about N by E to S by W and is very narrow. Its soil seems good especially at the upper end, where it is watered by a great number of Springs, enabling it to retain a verdure, at this Season of the year unknown in most other parts of the Province. The Rivulet runs with such a stream, as to render it easy in the rainy Season, to keep the Ground tolerably clear: and I should think it a place still more favourable than Sunouttee for trying the cultivation of spices. It is only 13 or 14 years since the upper part of this Valley began to be cultivated. New land is still taking in, and the

⁶⁴ The Harbang, Boroitoli, Matamuhuri and Moheshkhali rivers.

stumps of Trees remain every where in the Fields. At the finest part of the Valley, near its head, is a small pond called Tiperah Talou. The natives say, that it was made by the Tiperah, whom they suppose to have inhabited the Country before the Mohammedan Conquest; and they say, that from that period till lately the Valley has remained uncultivated.

We passed a considerable way down the Hurvung Valley, often crossing the rivulet, which has high banks, and a sandy bottom. We then went towards the S.E. crossing another wood, and range of low hills. After having come through these, we arrived in the Baratulla Valley, and stopped on the Banks of the Rivulet of the same name. Both the Valley and rivulet are larger than those of Hurvung: but the Soil seems to be more sandy, and the stream not so rapid, nor so far below the level of the Fields. This Valley has been cultivated for 40 or 50 years. In good seasons it yields annually two Crops of Rice: but when there is little rain, the farmer has only one harvest. The cultivation is as good, as any I have seen in the province. The rivulet arises from among some low hills to the east, and the tide comes up to near our Road. One flood brings a boat up from the Sea. The cultivation extends no farther east. Between this and the Country of Kaung-la-pru there is nothing but hills, and woods.

All the way from Chanpour to Barratulla we have had low hills between us and the Sea: but now there is nothing in that direction except plains, these in some places however are covered with Woods. Various parts of the Hills in this neighbourhood are inhabited by Mugs from Rossawn, Rohhawn, Roang, Reng or Rung, for by all these names is Arakan called by the Bengalese.⁶⁵ These people left their country on its conquest by the Burmas, and subsist by fishing, Boat building, a little cultivation, and by the Cloth made by their Women. They also build houses for the Mohammedan refugees, of whom many came from Arakan on the same occasion, and settling among men of their own Sect, are now much better off than their former Masters. A Bengalese Mohammedan would consider himself as polluted by living in a House built by Mug. The Natives of Arakan pay no rent for their Lands, as every three years they remove and clear away some new Spot overgrown with Wood. [T]hey pay to the Zemeendars a consideration for the ground occupied by their houses,

⁶⁵ *Ra-hkain* in Arakanese; *Ya-hkain* in Burmese; *Arakan* in Bengali.

in the same manner as the fishermen do. In the Hills between my route and the Sea there live no Joomea Mugs; but they are much frequented by Wild Elephants, on account of the fruit of the Chalta (*Dillennia Indica*) which these beasts eat very greedily.

25th. March

Before Sun-rise I set out, and entering a Wood, which runs on the South side of the Valley of Barratulla, saw some fine level Ground, that is clearing for cultivation. The Country soon became hilly, and full of deep Gullies containing many fine Gurgeon Trees.⁶⁶ The soil is very sandy. At 7 o'clock I passed through the head of a narrow Valley named Totocally,⁶⁷ which about 3 years ago was brought into cultivation by a Mr. Sparks, who has a considerable property nearer the Sea. After passing another Wood and range of low hills, I came to a fine River named Mamoree, or Moree,⁶⁸ which here takes a turn to the South, having for a little way before run West by the foot of some low Hills. From these Hills to the Sea the whole Country is level, and in as good a state of cultivation as the plains at Meerkasera. The River is about 100 yards wide, and its water rather muddy.

I now passed up the Bank of the Mamoree for about three miles, having at times low hills close to the River, and at times having on my left very pretty level Fields, which seem fully as likely to Answer for the cultivation of Spices, as any place I have yet seen. The soil of many of these fields is good, and some of them have an evident slope towards the River. Here I saw a vast number of Bamboo floats, loaded with grass for thatch, and coming down the River from the Joomea Country. Having gone about three miles up, I crossed the River to Doodusty Khans haut, the Chief place in Chuckerya,⁶⁹ and pitched my tents in a fine Mango grove. Here the River contains fresh water, beautifully clear and runs on a sandy bottom, with a gentle shallow stream.

⁶⁶ *Gorjon* (Bengali).

⁶⁷ Tōtokkhali.

⁶⁸ Matamuhuri river, also known as Matamuri or Mamuri.

⁶⁹ Also spelled Dowdusty Khans haut. Now Chakaria, upozila headquarters.

I here conversed with three natives of Arakan, of whom a considerable number have settled in this Vicinity. They complain much of the oppression they suffer from the Bengalese.

A man of the tribe by the Bengalese called Joomea was brought to me. He says, that many little Villages of his Nation, each under the Command of a Rua-sa⁷⁰ Subject to Kaung-la-pru, are scattered among the Hills east from this, on the Banks of the Mamoree, and of its various branches. He says, that his nation are Ma-ra-ma-gre, or Great Burmas, which is the name given by the Inhabitants of Ava to the people of Arakan. Indeed this man's language, and pronunciation, were almost entirely the same with that of the Ra-Kain.⁷¹ Intermixed with his tribe, live a people called Mo-roo,⁷² who speak a language totally different from the Burma. They are distinguished by having their hair bound up in a knot of their foreheads. Among the Bengalese I have heard frequent mention made of these people, under the name of Moroong. The three Natives of Arakan, with whom I conversed, called them Mroo, and said, that many of them inhabit the Banks of a River in their Country. The liveliness of both these kinds of Mugs, by which they are distinguished from the Bengalese, was very observeable in spite of their fears, which, for what reason, I know not, were by no means small.

I here procured a Bengalese man to give me an Account of the Country to the eastward. He is in the habit of going up the Mamoree to trade with the Joomea, and Moroong⁷³; but he also is so much agitated by fear, that he hardly knows what he says. By his account the tide flows up beyond here a little way only, to a place named Manicpour.⁷⁴ For some days journey farther the Canoes can be dragged up, the people walking in the Channel of the River. Small creeks come in on all hands from the hills named Seita-pahar,⁷⁵ which, according to the belief of the Hindoos, are a favorite residence of the Goddess Seita, the wife of Ram. Beyond the hills of Seita is a higher Ridge, named Muin; or Moony-moora: but from Chuckerya

⁷⁰ *Ywa-tha* (Burmese: 'village eater'), local chief among the Marma. In the literature on the Chittagong Hill Tracts frequently Bengalized to *roaja*.

⁷¹ Arakanese, who call themselves *Ra-hkain*.

⁷² Mru.

⁷³ 'Moroony.'

⁷⁴ Manikpur in Karaka union under Chakaria upozila.

⁷⁵ Sitapahar.

this cannot be seen. The Koongky do not extend so far to the South as the Mamoree. The Vallies of the Seita Hills, watered by the branches of this River, are inhabited by Joomea, and Moroong, dwelling in Villages of from 10 to 40 Houses, and each governed by a Rua-sa of its own tribe, appointed by Kaung-la-pru. The proper title of this Chief of the Joomea is Pow-mang-gre, or Great Captain.⁷⁶ His eldest Son, and apparent Heir, is named Sa-da pru, Pru, or white, being the [f]amily name. All these Joomea and Moroong pay tribute to the Pow-mang; and some of them, who occupy lands belonging to the Zemeendars, pay to them a rent like other ryots. These people prepare cotton, Bamboos, and thatch, for the Bengalese traders, and the Ru[a]-Jsas sometimes sell Elephants teeth. Salt, I suppose, is a Chief article of return, but this was a subject too delicate to give room for a satisfactory answer. The Bengalese said, that he supplied the Mugs with Iron-work, earthen ware, and the inspissated juice of Sugar-cane called goor. Paths, he says, extend all the way from the Mamoree to the Sualuk - but there is no road practicable for a Palenkeen. The subjects of the Pow-mang are said to be numerous, besides the Joomea and the Moroong, consisting of the Tribe named Tiperah, Tipperah, or Teura. All these people change the place of their abode every two or three years, for the sake of cultivating a new Soil, meliorated by rest, and by the ashes of the burned wood.

In the evening I walked about two miles up the Side of the River, to the extremity of the plain in that direction. I there found a rock extending down to the River side. Above this rock is the place named Manicpour. The plain, through which I passed, is very thickly inhabited, and is very productive, when there is plenty of Rain. [B]ut the Soil is rather too sandy, a fault which in this province seems to be common.

March 26th.

Soon after day break I set out, and passing obliquely through the

⁷⁶ After the British annexation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1860, this title survived as that of the 'Bohmong Chief'. Arakanese pronunciation of Burmese *po-min-gyi*; occasionally transliterated as 'Poang' in English texts. For a detailed discussion, see Lucien Bernot, *Les paysans arakanais*, 84ff.

plain to the S.W. crossed several rivulets running from the hills, which bound to the South the Chuckerya Valley, and extend in a line about W.S.W. from the Rock that terminated my last nights walk. These streams are now dammed across, in order to water the fields previous to their being cultivated for Rice[. A]bout two Miles from Doodusty Khans haut I entered among the hills and Woods. The Road through them has some difficult ascents and descents, but on the whole is more level, than that among any of the Hills, over which I have yet passed. The Soil is very Sandy, and mixed with a Kind of Gravel, by the Bengalese called Kongkar.⁷⁷ but the greater part of the hills are not so steep as to prevent the use of the plough, should the soil be found capable of producing any useful Vegetable. At present these hills are chiefly useful by affording great quantities of Gurgeon Oil. The elegant Tree, which yields it, grows here in great numbers, and to a prodigious Size. It is of Genus, so far as I know, yet unnamed by Botanists: and I believe that Doctor Roxburgh has as yet got specimens of one species only. During this journey I have seen four Kinds, from two of which indiscriminately the Oil is extracted. The other two Species contain no Oil: but their timber is good for many purposes, and especially for Canoes, on account of its immense Size. On the contrary the timber of the two kinds, that yield Oil, is good for nothing.

The manner of extracting Gurgeon Oil is as follows. In the Trunk of a full grown tree, a notch is made from two to four feet above the Ground. The Notch penetrates about a foot into the stem, and its upper side slopes gradually down to the lower, which enters horizontally, and is concave. In this notch a fire is kindled, and allowed to burn for an hour or two. It is then extinguished, and during the night the oil collects in the cavity of the notch. One burning produces from one to four pints, and the burnings are repeated four or five times every month. For many years a tree will continue to endure this treatment. I could not ascertain, for what the Oil Sells on the spot, the natives considering themselves interested in concealing the truth. A particular class of men make a profession of collecting this oil, honey, and Wax. They are Mohammedans, and pay a Duty to the Zemeendars for liberty to follow their profession. The woods however are not considered as property; for every ryot may go into

⁷⁷ Kongkor (Bengali).

them, and cut whatever timber he wants.

On the way through these Hills I passed the heads of two small Vallies, recently brought into cultivation, very near each other, and named Dulloo hazary, and Paoli-beel.⁷⁸ In the last mentioned there live about twenty families of the Oil-extractors, besides the cultivators of the land. I observe, that most of the new cultivated lands belong to Hindoos, who by acting as officers about the Courts of the Judges and Collectors, and by possessing greater suppleness and economy than the Mohammedans, are very fast rooting these out. The great body of the people however, in the province of Chittagong, is still composed of those of the Mohammedan persuasion.

At half an hour past nine o'clock I arrived at the head of another valley newly cleared. Through it runs a small river, named Khoondakally,⁷⁹ that falls into the Mascalley. The Soil of the Valley is very sandy. I find here, as indeed every where else to the South of Chittigong Town, that the natives are afraid to give me the least information on any subject. The Grand object of the Zemeendars is to keep the English in as much ignorance as possible; and it is alleged, that they are neither scrupulous, nor mild, in punishing any of their dependants, that converse with an European, when it can be avoided; or who, on any occasion, tell him the truth.

March 27th.

Before Sun rise I set out, and in about three hours arrived at a fine valley named Edgong.⁸⁰ Of this many parts have lately been brought into cultivation; as may be known by the stumps of Trees remaining in the Rice-Grounds. The road all the way led through hills covered with Wood, and in many places very steep. Several of the Gullies are deep, and contain small streams of water. The hills abound in Gurgeon, which seems to thrive best in dry Sandy situations. At Edgong, where I pitched my Tents, is held a small haut or market; but there is no

⁷⁸ Dulahajari and Paglirbil, in Dulahajari union under Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong.

⁷⁹ Khutakhali or Khuntakhali.

⁸⁰ Idgaon, a village and union under Cox's Bazar upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong.

Village. This was market day, and it was attended by a good many natives of Araka[n], both men and women, who seemed to be much alarmed at my appearance.

The following process for clearing new land is that here adopted by the Bengalese. A man of some consequence, a Dewan, a phousdar⁸¹, or the like, gets a grant of some uncleared district. Different persons, who have a little stock, apply to him for Pottahs or Leases, of certain portions, and in clearing their portions these men are often assisted by the Zemeendar, or possessor of the Original Grant, with a little money, as a temporary support. But this money becomes a Debt, which they are obliged to repay, when they are able. In the cold Season the operation commences, by cutting down the Bushes, and smaller trees. After drying a few days, these are burned; and at the commencement of the Rains the Ground is ploughed, as well as the strength of the Cattle, and the resistance of the Roots will admit. Rice is then sown, and a small crop is produced. One Sirdar,⁸² or Overseer, and three labourers, are supposed to be able to perform this operation on eight Kanays of Ground. The second years operation consists in cutting down the greater part of the large Trees, in burning them, and digging out the roots of the bushes and underwood, from the remains of which, after the first years ploughing, many shoots have then formed. The ground is again sown at the beginning of the Rains, and yields a better crop. One Sirdar, and two labourers, are reckoned equal to the performance of this work on eight Kanays. In the third year the operation is concluded, by again cutting down such brushwood as may have shot up, and by digging out, and burning, all the roots of the large Trees that have been felled. The same number of persons are employed as in the second year. The ground in the fourth year is reckoned perfectly clear, and pays the usual rent. For the first three years nothing is exacted. Two men, and two Bullocks, are reckoned equal to the cultivation of eight Kanays, which here are the usual extent of one Grist's possession. All over Chittagong the Cow is employed in the plough as well as the Bullock. Between the Grist and the Zemeendar is an intermediate class of farmers, named

⁸¹ *Deḍyan* (Bengali), a steward or landowner; *foujdar* (Bengali), intermediate tenure holder.

⁸² *Shordar* (Bengali).

Talookdars.⁸³ In this place they are generally the men, who having had a little property, undertook to clear portions of the land and possess from five to twenty Doons, each Doon containing sixteen Kanay.⁸⁴ Out of each Doon they account to the Zemeendar for the Rent of twelve Kanay, and retain the produce of four Kanay for their risk and trouble in the collection. The avowed profit of the Zemeendar arises from his measuring out the Ground with a Bamboo of eight Cubits, while he receives it by one measuring twelve.

Edgong is a Valley of considerable width, watered by a fine little stream of the same name. The soil is light, and in the rainy Season is not what the natives here call Jeel.⁸⁵ In favourable years it yields two Crops of Rice, but one only when there is little Rain. The people say, that they are too poor to make dams for turning the water of the Rivulet upon their fields. Sugar Cane could be cultivated all over the plain: but from the same field a crop cannot every year be taken. Between every two Crops of Sugar it is necessary to take two Crops of Rice. The only manure used for the sugar Grounds are a few ashes from burned leaves.

After the conquest of Arakan about one hundred families of the unfortunate Natives came, and settled in this valley: but as the ground has been cleared, they have decreased greatly; and there remain about twenty houses easy to be known by their being raised upon posts. These poor people chiefly subsist by cutting ratans, Bamboos, and the leaf of a dwarf palm called Karoo, and used for making umbrell[a]s, by making matts, building Houses, and other similar occupations. They appear to be very miserable: and say, that, were they not too poor for the undertaking, they would willingly cultivate the Ground.

Further up the Rivulet is said to be a district named Edghur,⁸⁶ which has lately been brought into cultivation. Beyond that are Villages of Joomea, and Moroong, subject to Kaung-la-pru. This stream does not admit of floats like the Mamooree: but the cotton, and other productions of the hills, are brought down on men's backs.

⁸³ Talukdar (Bengali), intermediate tenure holder.

⁸⁴ One *drõn* (Bengali) = 16 *kani*. If we follow Buchanan's earlier estimate of the size of the *kani*, the *drõn* was 16.6 ha or 41.6 acres.

⁸⁵ *Jhil* (Bengali), a large (seasonal) lake.

⁸⁶ Idgor (Idgaon) union under Ramu upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong.

By the natives the high hills visible from Edgong are named Moony-pahar. They do not appear to be of great height.

28th. March

At dawn of day I set out, and crossing the Rivulet, went through the plain to the Westward. [N]ear Edgong it is very well cultivated, but towards the Sea the Valley is interspersed with small hills, like the Country at Islamabad.⁸⁷ The Hills here are not so high as those at that place, but are covered with fine Trees, and command a noble prospect of the neighbouring Country, and of the Mascally island.⁸⁸ The plains between the hills are more extensive than those at Islamabad, and consist of a much richer soil. They are what the natives call jeel; that is to say, during the rainy season, the water lies deep on them, and cannot be drained off. Although the soil and shelter seems good, they would therefore probably not Answer for the cultivation of spice Trees. These plains are by no means so well cultivated, as the higher part of the Valley; but they are said to be very productive of Rice. The Huts of the natives are very miserable. Although the Hills offer a dry situation; yet on them the cold, during the rainy and winter Seasons, is so disagreeable to the naked Bengalese, that they rather build in the Vallies amidst the dirt and wet, raising their mud floors just so high as to be above the water. As I approached the Mascally or Fish-creek, which separates the island so called from the continent, I found a great deal of the jeel uncultivated, and covered with sunderbund plants. The tide formerly overflowed these parts, and by its great salt[i]ness rendered them unproductive: but it has lately been excluded by a Bank. Several years rain however, it is said, will be required to sweeten the Soil, and to render it fit for the cultivation of Rice.

About 8 oClock I arrived at the mouth of the Cruzcool, or Joareeah river⁸⁹, and there found a very large Rakain Village. The people live by fishing, boat-building, making mats, by cutting ratans and Bamboos, and by acting as porters and Boatmen. Their Women

⁸⁷ The official name of Chittagong town.

⁸⁸ Moheshkhali, now an upozila in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong.

⁸⁹ Joaria river near Khurushkul.

make coarse Cloth. They cultivate no Rice, and pay no taxes: but, they say, they are often forced by the Zemeendars to work for them without pay. The Security of life however they enjoy, and the exemption from taxes, renders their situation here much preferable to living under the Burma Government. Opposite to the Village the whole beach is covered with ratan wears⁹⁰ for taking fish. I passed by a Ferry the mouth of the River, which is wide, but shallow. I then went through another Rakain Village, and passed along the Sea beach to the north Side of the Bakca[lly⁹¹] or Ramoo river. Here I took up my quarters in a Bungalo belonging to a friend at Chittigong, and found a Naiks guard, detached from the party of Seapoys stationed at Ramoo.⁹² All day I was busy in endeavouring to procure a Boat to carry provisions to the mouth of the Naaf, in order to enable me to proceed there, and from thence to return by the way of Outeah Ghaut.⁹³

29th. March

A Burma Merchant now at Cruzcool,⁹⁴ and lately come from Arakan, says, that the Naaf river ends at Outeah Ghaut, which he calls အူလာပြာ *oukla pya*⁹⁵, *pya* signifying the source of a River. On the Arakan side of the River a branch of it, which he names မျိုသစ် *Mioo-theet Kiaung*⁹⁶, runs from the Hills to the East. On the Banks of this branch inhabit a people by the Burmas named Thack သက်.⁹⁷ He says that he was the first Burma, who after the Conquest of Arakan discovered these people, having gone up the Naaf on a trading expedition. The high hills visible from the Naaf River are not those which separate Arakan from Ava; they are a lower

⁹⁰ weirs.

⁹¹ Baghkhali river. The village at its mouth was later named Cox's Bazar.

⁹² *Nayek* (Bengali), commander; *shipahi* (Bengali), soldier. Ramu is the upozila headquarters in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong.

⁹³ Ukhiar Ghat, headquarters of Ukhiar upozila in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong.

⁹⁴ Khurushkul, village in Cox's Bazar upozila and district, Chittagong.

⁹⁵ *U-hkya-pya* (Burmese).

⁹⁶ *Myo-thit-hkyaun* (Burmese).

⁹⁷ *Thek* (Burmese).

ridge named မယူတာင် *Ma-yu taung*.⁹⁸ From the North, between the two ridges of the Hills, run two rivers: the nearest to Bengal the Merchant calls the Ma-yu River; the farthest east he calls ဝူရီတာင်မြစ် *Oo-reet taung River*⁹⁹ from a large temple of the same name, which stands a days journey west from the City Rakain.¹⁰⁰ The whole Country of Arakan is intersected by various Creeks, communicating with each other, and with the Sea. On the east side of the principal of these creeks stands the city Rakain, called by us Arakan. Among the hills towards the heads of the abovementioned two Rivers are many rude tribes လင်ဂဲ *Layn-ga*, ယုန်သူ *Shan-du*, မြို့ *Myoo*, ခွေမြို့ *Kue-mye*, မြို့ *Myoun*, and ချော် *Kio*.¹⁰¹ Towards Bengal, he says, the Burmas have no Kayn, or Custom house, nearer than Oo-reet-taung. With the Siammese, he says, peace has been made. The Seat of the War was in Saym-may, the Chiamay of M. de la Loubere. On the part of the Burmas the War was conducted by the second Wun-gye, or Great Minister, who is named Mien-tha, and who was very instrumental in placing on the Throne the present Burma Monarch. Contrary to the Reports we have had, the Merchant insists, that his Countrymen have been Victorious, yet he admits, that Zan-da-pu-re is now tributary to Siam. Saym-may, Kiain-town, Kiain-theen, and ကျိုင်ဂုံကျီ *Kiain-roun-Kie*, still remain tributary to the Burmas.¹⁰²

30th. March

On account of the strong Winds, having failed in all my attempts to procure a Boat willing to go to the Naaf, I this morning set out for Mascal island. I landed at a Rakain Village on the Sea shore, near a

⁹⁸ *Ma-yu-taun* (Burmese).

⁹⁹ *U-yit-taun-myiit* (Burmese).

¹⁰⁰ Mrauk-U or Mrohaung (Myohaung in Burmese).

¹⁰¹ *Lin-ke*; *shin-du*; *myo*; *hkwe-myi*; *myoun*; *hkyo* (Burmese).

¹⁰² This passage refers to a Burmese attempt to invade Siam (Thailand) after the successful conquest of Arakan in 1785. King Bo-daw-hpaya (1782-1819), assisted by his Minister (*wun-gyi*, here also identified by his title *min-tha*, prince), were unsuccessful. Among the places mentioned by Buchanan are Chiang-mai in the north and Sankhla Buri, near Tavoy in Burma. I have not identified the last three place names, of which the last is romanized as 'Kyain-youn-kyi'.

monument erected to the memory of Mr. Harris, formerly commercial resident at Chittigong. I fou[nd] my tents pitched on a piece of Ground, which serves for a market place, called Adeegunge, or Fakerhaut. It is situated on the Bank of a Salt water Creek named Goorobatta.¹⁰³ Here also I failed in an attempt to procure a boat willing to go to the Naaf, and I determined to go to Ramoo by the way of the Rajoo river and Rutnapallung.¹⁰⁴ To the last mentioned place I therefore sent people by the way of Ramoo, to carry a supply of Provisions, which Rutnapallung does not afford.

In the evening I walked out through the plain to the westward, which is named Borah Mascally.¹⁰⁵ The soil is remarkably fine, in some few places interspersed with sandy ridges, and mounds of earth, at some former time probably the Sea beach, [and] Salt makers barrows. In some places creeks run up from the Sea: but their mouths have been shut up by Dams, which serve the double purpose of keeping out the Sea water, and of confining the inundation occasioned by the Rains. Besides the Sandy eminences, there are some gentle ascents and descents, by which means some of the plain during the rainy season is deeply covered with water, while many fields would be too dry for the cultivation of Rice, were it not for the small Ridges by which they were di[vi]ded. The soil contains less sand, than any I have seen in the pro[vince.] It annually yields two very fine Crops of Rice. As affording a variety in the Degrees of moisture, this place would seem to be proper for an experiment on the cultivation of Spices; especially as it is towards the north well sheltered by Hills. It is however much exposed to the Violence of the S.W. monsoon.

31st. March

At day break I set out to examine the South West Side of the Hills, that are at the south end of the Island. At first I proceeded up the side of the Goorobatta Creek, which contains Salt water only. The natives say, that the tide coming up the creek does great injury to

¹⁰³ Adigonj or Fokirhat, and Gorokghata creek, on the southeast tip of Moheshkhali island.

¹⁰⁴ Raju river and Ratna Palong.

¹⁰⁵ Boro Moheshkhali, now a union under Moheshkhali upozila.

their Crops, and that they are unable to dam it up on account of the expence. About a mile west from Adeegunge, near a pond called Dumsagaka Talou, is a rising Ground sufficiently sloping to prevent the Rain water from lodging on it, and of an excellent soil. [F]or want of water this spot is not cultivated, except in one place, where there is a betel-leaf garden. I should imagine, that this also would be a good place for an experiment on the cultivation of Spices. The betel-leaf (piper belle) is a very delicate plant, and requires vast attention in the cultivation. The Ground on which it is raised must be high. After it has been well wrought, and cleared from weeds, in order completely to carry off the water it is, by narrow deep trenches, divided into beds two cubits wide. Upon these the earth from the trenches is thrown, and in the middle of each a Row of betel slips is planted, at the distance of two spans. Sticks about 8 feet long are then stuck up in the form of the St. Andrews Cross, in order to support the plant which is a Creeper. Other sticks are laid horizontally over the Crosses, and on them is spread Straw or grass to keep off the Sun: for it is vulgar error to suppose, that aromatic plants require much sun-shine. The winds must also be excluded from this delicate vegetable by covering the sides of the Garden with palm leaves or Straw. The most favourable season for planting the betel is the Hindoo month Assar, anwering to the end of June and the beginning of July, and it begins to yield ripe leaves in about nine months. This plant is perennial, and for many years continues to give a supply of leaves at all seasons. The Garden must be kept very clean, and fresh earth must be every year put upon the beds: but dung is said to prove destructive to the plant. I observe, that in this province the superstitious natives place among the Gardens the *Dracaena ferrea*, which raises its red head above the Straw cover of the betel, and is supposed to prevent the lightning from injur[ing] the Garden. [O]n this account it is called the Panrajah, or Prince of the betel.

From the Tank, or pond, of Dumsaga much sloping ground extends to the westward: but, except that already mentioned, it [is so] sandy as to Answer no purpose of cultivation. It however affords a most excellent situation for the huts of the natives, who call all such swelling sandy ground Daely. A little west from Dumsaga I crossed the Creek, and a fine Rice Valley named Saubuck¹⁰⁶, which run

¹⁰⁶ Sic.

about W.N.W. between the daely and the Hills. In the middle, this Valley is what the Natives call jeel. At the foot of the hills the ground slopes up gently, and the rain would all run off into the jeel, were it not prevented by numerous small ridges. The Soil here is very good, an Admixture of clay with very fine sand apparently of a micaceous nature. The extent of this rising ground, from the foot of the hills to the jeel, varies in different places, but in general it does not exceed 20 yards. Here however spice trees might perhaps succeed, as by the Hills they would be sheltered from the north winds, and by the daely from the violence of the monsoon. The extent of ground however is inconsiderable.

At the head of the Valley is a great extent of daely, a bran[ch] of which running towards the East is that which on the South bounds Suabuck. From the head of this Valley west to the Sea all the Country is an uncultivated Wood, containing however many valuable trees. This wood, which is of great extent, according to the Report of the natives, contains much land very capable of producing Rice: but several Creeks admit the tide to overflow the Ground; and before cultivation could be undertaken, it would be necessary to exclude the Salt water by Dams. This, the natives say, is for their means an undertaking by far too expensive. The property is said to be vested in a Woman living at Chittagong, in whom it would be imprudent to lay out any thing on a work she could not superintend, and of which she might not live to receive the profit.

From the daely at the head of Suabuck there rises a fine spring of water, which runs into the Sea at the west side of the Island. Here I observed the recent prints of a tigers feet, who had come to the spring for water. [O]f this ferocious animal, and of wild hogs, there are said to be many in the Hills of Mascally, and formerly wild Elephants also were common in the island: but the last herd were taken a few years ago. At the foot of the hills, and sides of the daely, water is every where to be had by digging a few feet deep: but the natives use chiefly that of nasty tanks. [N]o people make such a difficulty about the water they drink, as the natives of Hindoostan: but with them clean water is not that which is free from filth, but that which has been drawn up, or kept in Vessels peculiar to the Cast of the drinker.

From the Spring I returned down the Valley Suabuck to a Mango grove, the remains of a Garden formerly belonging to a Mr. Wallis. I here entered among the hills, and found a Joom, that last year had

been cultivated. The Joom is a species of cultivation peculiar, I believe, to the rude tribes inhabiting the hills east from Bengal. During the dry Season, the natives of these places cut down to the root all the bushes growing on a hilly tract. After drying for some time the brush wood is set on fire, and by its means as much of the large timber as possible is destroyed: but if the Trees are large, this part of the operation is seldom very successful. The whole surface of the Ground is now covered with ashes, which soak in with the first rain, and serve as a manure. No sooner has the ground been softened by the first showers of the season, than the cultivato[r] begins to plant. To his girdle he fixes a small basket, containing a promiscuous mixture of the Seeds of all the different plants raised in Jooms. These plants are chiefly rice, cotton, Capsicum, indigo, and different kinds of cucurbitaceous fruits. In one hand the cultivator then takes an Iron pointed dibble with which he strikes the ground, making small holes at irregular distances, but in general about a foot from each other. Into each of these holes he with his other hand drops a few seeds, taken from the Basket as chance directs, and leaves the farther rearing of the crop to nature: only he resides near to drive away pernicious animals, and to reap the Crop, as each kind ripens. Next year the cultivator for his Joom selects another spot covered with wood: for in such a rude kind of cultivation the ashes are a manure necessary to render the soil productive. When the wood on the former tract has grown to a proper size, the cultivator again returns to it; and then there being no large trees standing, the operation of cutting down is easier, and the ground is more perfectly cleared.

These Hills are by no means high, not exceeding One hundred and fifty feet in perpendicular height above the plain. They do not rise one above the other but have their bases perfectly contiguous, so that narrow Gullies, without any considerable decline wind through amongst them in every direction. Although their sides are very steep, yet trees, and all vegetable productions, thrive on them remarkably well. This is owing in a great measure to their Soil, which is excellent, consisting of clay mixed with a just proportion of fine sand. In the Gullies, during the rainy season, the water runs in streams: and during the dry season it may [b]e had by digging wells. This seems by far the most likely place, I have yet seen, to Answer for the cultivation of spices. The sides of the hills must ever be dry, they are sheltered from every nipping and boisterous wind, and the soil is excell[ent.] Besides

from its insular situation the Climate is more temperate than any in Bengal, and a sufficient extent of ground offers itself, without disturbing the cultivation of the Zemeendars.

In the Island of Mascally much Gurgeon Oil is extracted. For each maund, or about 40 quarts,¹⁰⁷ the Zemeendar gives the labourer two Rupees. It is in general sent to Chittagong, where it is sold for double the prime cost. Every month each tree is burnt six times, and at each burning yields from one pint to two quarts of Oil.¹⁰⁸ [T]he Trees sustain this treatment for about twenty years.

In the evening I visited the hill overlooking the strait, which separates the island from the Continent. Being separated from the hills towards the west by a deep Gulley, it is quite a narrow ridge, with scarcely room on its summit for two persons to walk a breast. Towards its South end the Hindoos have a small temple much frequented by Pilgrims, and commanding a delightful View of Mascally, and the opposite country.¹⁰⁹ On the steep ascent to this Temple I observed, that the hill consists of the same fine soil with that at the old Joom, but slightly indurated into thin Horizontal Strata like schistus. Between the plates of this are found in various places flat nodules of a similar nature, but so much indurated, as to be capable of being denominated stone[;] and I am told, that in the island no other Kind of stone is to be found.

At the south east extremity of the Hills is some extent of good sloping land, like that at their foot farther west. It is partly under rice, and partly uncultivated. I suppose, that both this, and the neighbouring hills, would be equally favourable for spices as the similar lands I observed in the morning, but they are more exposed to the Sea-Winds, and the situation, from the vicinity of a muddy beach, is probably not healthy.

1st. April

I set out before sun rise to Visit the west side of the island, and passing west along the sandy daely, I crossed the small spring of water

¹⁰⁷ One maund (*mon*) is about 36 kg.

¹⁰⁸ One quart = 2 pints = 1.1 litre.

¹⁰⁹ Adinath Temple.

mentioned in my yesterdays account. Inclining there to the right, I passed along by the foot of the Hills. There I found the sloping ground of a greater extent than at the South west end of the hills. In some places the soil is a good mixture of clay and sand, in others the sand predominates. Towards the left the Sea is at a considerable distance, but in many places the tide comes up to the sloping grounds. All the natives agree, that to render the whole Sea Coast a fertile Country, requires only to exclude the tide, by damming the Creeks, through which it enters.

Having passed several old Jooms, and some runs of wa[ter,] I came to a small cultivated district named Pany cherra.¹¹⁰ [Here] the natives have taken advantage of a small stream of water, and have inundated some of their fields. In consequence the first crop of Rice has already been transplanted, and two other Crops are expected to follow during the season.

On leaving Pany cherra, and passing some woods that we[re] clearing by people from Cuttupdea, I came to a cultivated district named Wanuc.¹¹¹ To my right I had still hills, and it is du[.]¹¹² the sloping grounds at the foot of these, that have been cultivated. The soil of Wanuc is tolerably good, and well watered.

Among the hills immediately behind Wanuc I found a joom of the people by the Bengalese called Mugs. They were busy cutting down, and burning the trees. They appeared to be wretchedly p[oor,] and on my approach the women and young people hid themselves. The soil of this joom seemed to be but very indifferent. These Mugs, although they speak a dialect of the Burma language, are not the Rakain, who fled from the Burmas. They came into this province some years before the conquest of Arakan, but during the troubles that facilitated that event. Many of the Rakain, who fled from the Violence of the King of Ava,¹¹³ have settled in this island; but as yet none of them have begun to cultivate the Ground.

At the Goorobatta Creek, in the evening, I observed the poor

¹¹⁰ Panirchhora, a mouza in Hoanak union, Moheshkhali upozila, Cox's Bazar district.

¹¹¹ Kutubdia, an upozila in Cox's Bazar district; Hoanak, a union under Moheshkhali upozila.

¹¹² Illegible.

¹¹³ The King of Burma continued to be called the 'King of Ava' even after the capital of Burma was removed to Ava's twin city Amarapura in 1783.

people making Salt by soaking straw in Sea water, and then burning it. I am told, that Salt properly made, on account of the monopoly, is an Article, much too expensive to enter into the diet of the lower Classes of people in Chittigong.

2d. April

At day break I set out to visit little Mascally. After crossing the Gooroobatta, I proceeded north between the hills and the arm of the Sea, which from abounding in fish received the name, that it communicates to the island.¹¹⁴ [Having passed¹¹⁵] one large Rakain Village, I came to another situated at the mouth of the little Mascally rivulet. The Valley runs up nearly west, is on both sides bounded by low Hills, and in different places is cultivated by Bengalese. At the first entrance there is some good level ground, but not so low as to form a jeel. A little way farther up, on passing a small hill, which occupies the middle of the Valley, I came to a Mug joom, inhabited by a considerable number of people. They had resided last at the joom behind Wallis's Garden, and were now clearing away the woods, which did not seem to be above six or seven years old, having formerly been cleared for similar purposes. The Ground rose in gentle swells, and the soil seemed to be excellent. The place is well sheltered, and no doubt will answer for the cultivation of Spices, should any part of Bengal be found to have a suitable climate.

The oldest [M]ug, I saw at this place, was about fifty years of age. He said, that when he left Arakan, he was a little boy. All the others were fine young lads, and said, that they had been born in Mascally. They said, that in Arakan they had not cultivated jooms: but in this island they preferred that manner of cultivation, on account of the rent paid for level ground. To the Zemeendar they pay a duty on their cotton: but no other Rent. The Rice, which is grown in jooms, is different from that which grows in the level fields, and would no more grow on low ground, than the Rice of the jeel would on the hills.

¹¹⁴ Buchanan supposes the name to be 'machh-khali', or 'fish canal'. The name is usually rendered as 'Moheshkhali', or 'Mohesh' canal'. 'Little Mascally' survives as Chhoto Moheshkhali, a village in Gorokghata union of Moheshkhali upozila.

¹¹⁵ Written in another hand.

Having advanced beyond the joom, I came to two tracts of level ground, which the Bengalese had lately cleared. I then turned to the left, and having passed through among the hills, I entered the Suabuck valley a little below Wallis's Garden. [O]n the whole way I met with hardly any ascent or descent, for the hills are merely eminences scattered on a plain, with their bas[es] however in general contiguous.

On the whole, I think, that the cultivation of Spices might be tried in Mascally with some prospect of success, provided the experiment be made to a sufficient extent, and with atten[tion] and perseverance. The plants ought to be tried in all different situations, especially among the hills, on such rice Grounds as during the rains are not jeels, and on such level places as have a good Soil, but are too much elevated for the cultivation of Rice. If any person is sent to conduct this experiment, I would recommend the sandy swelling ground opposite to Wallis's Garden, as the most healthy, and convenient place for his abode. He may make his first plantations among the hills immediately behind the Garden, in the level Grounds of little Mascally, and at the be[tel] garden near Dumsaga Tank.

Muscally by nature is a delightful island, and wants cultivation only to make it one of the finest spots in India. The Coconut would most probably thrive well on the sandy daelys, as these seem to resemble greatly the Grounds at Bombay, on which that valuable tree is cultivated with so much Success. An Ac[re] of coconut trees at that settlement, is said to yield an annual rent of £.50. If this cultivation were to be attempted at Mascally, it would perhaps be worth while to bring from Bombay a person skilled in the management of the Coconut Tree. It might perhaps be of advantage to the Company, to make dams a cross the mouths of all the creeks, which admit the tide into Mascally, and thus to encourage the natives to clear the land. The immediate expence is too great for the means of the people in the Vicinity: but the money laid out by the Company would probably soon be repaid by an increase of Revenue. The most esteemed trees, growing naturally on Mascally, are the Boidea and Doolea Gurgeons; the Bassua and Keta Jarools (*Lagerstromia Flos Reginae* of Konig, and a variety of it with a thorny stem) of which the last is most esteemed; the Tetuia[;] Talsaree; the Hoorina Ussual (a Species of *Vitex*); the good gootea; the Soondur (*Heritiera littoralis* Hort: Kew: which is really a *Sterculca*); and the Roona, which in the Soonderbunds is called Pursur. (this is a Species of *Trichilia* not

described)¹¹⁶

After returning from my mornings walk, I crossed over to Cruz-cool, or, as it appears to me to be pronounced by the natives, Crooscool. In passing through the Rakain villages, I observed, that drying prawns was amongst them a principal occupation. These they export in great quantities to Chittigong Dacca Calcutta, and other places in Bengal, where they are in great demand among all ranks, both of Hindoos and Mohammedans. The Rakain also dry sharks, cutting them lengthways into six or seven slices, which are left connected at the head and at the tail, and are separated by a Bamboo frame. In this state the shark is hung up exposed to the Sun and wind, and in short time becomes dry.

3d. April

To day in spite of all my endeavours, I could effect only my passage across the mouth of the Ramoo River, and procure a quantity of provisions sufficient to support me on the way to Rutnapallung. In the evening I walked out between the River and the hills to the South. After passing a sandy beach of considerable extent, I came to a Village inhabited both by Rakain and Bengalese. The former live by cutting Bamboos and Ratans, by working up for different uses these valuable materials, by extracting Gurgeon Oil, and by building Boats. In these hills, ratan is said to grow to an amazing length: several people declared to me, that they had seen them three hundred and even four hundred Cubits in length¹¹⁷: but for my own part I saw no[ne] that exceeded forty feet. A Rakain boat is built by sewing one or two broad planks on the Gunwale of a Canoe. Some of them are so large as to have even an addition of four planks on each side of the Canoe. They are extremely clumsy, and row badly: but in a large sea they are reckoned to be safe, and venture out in weather, that would immediately destroy a Bengalese boat. The Bengalese of this Village are chiefly Mussulmans, and cultivate the Ground in a fine Valley, watered by the Ramoo river. It is said, that in the whole of this Valley there are fifteen thousand Rakain, who have fled hither since the

¹¹⁶ *Gorjon, jarul, tetuya, telsur, shundor, orsol, gugutia, chundul, runa* (Bengali).

¹¹⁷ I.e. about 60 to 80 m.

Conquest of their Country. The Bengalese consider it as an injustice, that some land has been granted to these unfortunate people at the mouth of the Razoo river.

So far as I could penetrate, the rising Ground to the South of the Village is very sandy: but the whole Country to the South is an immense forest, utterly impenetrable without the assistance of a hatchet.

The Ramoo river affords Oysters, which are very white, large, and tender: but they appear to me neither to be so wholes[ome,] nor so well flavoured, as the Oysters of the Naaf. They seem to be two distinct species, and may be readily distinguished, by those coming from the Ramoo having the edge of the mother of pearl quite smooth, whilst the edge of the lining of the Naaf Oyster is marked with a row of small blunt teeth.

April 4th.

I set out very early, and very soon arrived at the White cliffs of Chittagong, between which and the Sea I passed from one end to the other. The Cliffs are from twenty to forty feet high, and quite perpendicular. They consist of thin horizontal strata of slightly conglutinated sand, with in some places alternate layers of Clay; and contain some nodules of Stone. In many places of these cliffs, Chasms have been formed by the streams descending from the inland hills. Most of these streams are merely torrents formed during the time of Rain, but four of them continue at all seasons. The nearest of these to the Ramoo river is named Kolatulleer cherra,¹¹⁸ and is said to come from a jeel Marsh or lake, which occupies a considerable extent in the interior Country. The Second of these Streams, which is the largest, is near the South end of the Cliffs, and is called Jerinne cherra. Very near this are the two others. These Chasms, especially those which contain perennial streams, are very useful to travellers, not only as affording the refreshments of shade and water: but as places of refuge to those, who are overtaken by the tide. Spring-tides come up to the foot of the Cliffs, and a high Surf rol[ls] in all along the shore, so that a traveller overtaken by the tide would perish, could he not get into a

¹¹⁸ Kolatolir chhora.

chasm: but these are so numerous, that one cannot walk more than half a mile without meeting with some place of refuge. At the four perennial streams often reside the cutters of Bamboos and Ratans, who there have a cool retreat, plenty of fine water, and access into the woods. The road passing the cliffs is on a fine firm sand. In some places there are banks formed of the nodules fallen from the Cliffs, but they may easily be avoided.

After passing the Cliffs between the hills and the beach, there are low accumulations of sand covered with a tree, called by the natives Hurrey (*Casuarina dioica*), and by Europeans usually mistaken for a pine, to which it bears some resemblance. The timber is totally useless. The Hills here are evidently a continuation of those which form the Cliffs, and therefore are probably of the same wretched soil. Near the Razoo, or Rajoo River, the hills recede a little, and between them and the sandy beach leave a narrow level of good soil. Here a few Mohammedan cultivators have lately settled. I stopped on the North Side of the River, it being almost high water, and the ford being passable only towards the end of the ebb. The River at its mouth has a bar on which at all times of tide there runs a surf: but Boats can pass over, when the weather is moderate. The sea shore is very barren in natural productions, and the River contains no Oysters. It is said, that in the hills east from this a few Joomea Mugs have settled. The Inhabitants, both Rakain and Bengalese, say, that they would not venture to go to the Pallungs,¹¹⁹ from the want of a military force sufficient to protect them from the Burmas.

At the mouth of the Rajoo I found a man, who had come from Ramoo to build two Boats, which he intended to car[ry] to that place, where timber has already become scarce. These were the only Boats I saw, and the natives seemed to have hardly a sufficient quantity of provisions to enable them to exist. At Cruzcool I had been informed, that I should here find plenty of Boats and provisions, which had been provided by the Collector for a numerous Colony he had established. Any person who relies on information received from a native of Chittigong, will often be most cruelly deceived. In general he will assure you, that in any place, except that in which you are, there will not be the least difficulty in getting any thing after which you enquire: yet at the same time he may know, that where you are the thing

¹¹⁹ See below.

wanted is in the greatest abundance, and where you are going, that no such thing ever existed. Of this all Travellers ought to be aware. If they trust for necessities to such information, they may perish; and if for matters of curiosity, they will be disappointed.

April 5th.

Early in the morning, it being then low Water, I crossed the Rajoo at a good ford about half a mile from its mouth[,] proceeding up a little way, I came to a few Rakain huts, of which the inhabitants fled immediately on my appearance. They were beginning to clear the Ground for cultivation, and I was informed, that about forty families of Rakain, and as many Bengalese had lately come here to form a Settlement. The soil after leaving the Sea side a little, seems very favourable. Afterwards turning a little to the right, and finding a path, I followed it through the woods to the East, and soon entered the Jellea pallung.¹²⁰ This is one of the districts deserted in the year 1794 on the incursion of the Burmas, and which ever since have continued almost without inhabitants. The Jellea pallung has a very good Soil, which slopes in various directions, but not so much as to render it unfit for the cultivation of Rice. A few families keep in it their herds of buffaloes, and during the rainy Season come, and cultivate some of the Rice Ground. East from Jellea I passed through another wood, in which I crossed a branch of the Rajoo, and then entered the Rutna pallung, where I found stationed a Havildars¹²¹ party of Sepoys. From this to the mouth of the Naaf a messenger is dispatched thrice a Week, to bring intelligence from the frontier: and on his return the news is sent to the post of Ramoo, from whence, if there be occasion, a report is made to the officer commanding at Islamabad. This small force has been sufficient to induce some of the Inhabitants to return to Rutna pallung. About twenty houses have

¹²⁰ Jalia Palong, now a union under Ukhia upozila in Cox's Bazar district. One of the 'baro palong' (twelve palongs), of which Buchanan also mentions the following: Wala ('Weella'), Rotna ('Rutna'), Rumkha ('Rungka'), 'Rutnakaaga', Haladia ('Hulludea'), Hazalia ('Huzzalea'), Raja ('Rajah'), 'Kootoo', Dhoa ('Dua'), Dechuar ('Detchua'), Paglir ('Pagully'), 'Deelia', and 'Sunna'. All of them are in Ukhia and Ramu upozilas, Cox's Bazar district.

¹²¹ *Havildar* (Bengali), sergeant.

been built, and the fields about them are cultivated. The Seekdar¹²² or Zemeendar's Collector, is a Rakain. He says, that the cultivators being Bengalese, he has fallen into arrears, as they yield him no obedience; and that he would most willingly go along with me, as he daily expects to be taken up, and flogged by the Zemeendar. The Havildar says, that he is a very good man, but from want of cast cannot expect to meet with respect from the Bengalese.

The Hill, by Mr. Robinson in his Survey named Wellia[..¹²³]tung, is by the Seekdar named Weel-la mein taung ဝဲလ်လံမိန်တာငါး.¹²⁴ Taung, the Rakain and Burma name for a Hill, has been corrupted into Tung. The hill is evidently part of that Chain by the Bengalese called Moony, or Muin, and by the Burmas Mein; and this peak is either the source of the name Weel-la, or has derived it from one of the pallungs, which lies at its foot, and is called Weel-la pallung. The information given by the Seekdar agrees better with that I received from the Burma Merchant, than with that which Mr. Robinson seems to have procured. The Seekdar says, that there are two branches of the Naaf. The princip[al] one he reckons Ookia, the Outeah of Mr. Robinson: the second he calls Mroo-seik Kiaung, which is the Rakain pronunciation of the Burma word Myoo theek Kiaung. It is evidently this name, which Mr. Robinson has written Imrosyk ghong, and he seems to have taken it for the name of a place, not of a River. This branch arises from among Hills, by the Rakain named Sak taung, as they are Inhabited by a people, whom they name Sak, and the Bengalese name Chak. These people are evidently the သက် Thack of the Burmas, သ being sometimes pronounced Th, and sometimes S. The Seekdar farther says, that beyond the Naaf there is a ridge of mountains running north and South, and named Ma-yoo taung. The low country between these and the Naaf, before the Burma conquest, was inhabited by Rakain. Between these mountains and the City of Arakan is the celebrated temple Oo-reet-taung.

In the evening I walked out through the plain of Rutna pallung, which in the rainy Season is a jeel. The soil is very good. Here I found the remains of a Burma encampment, and near it the course of a Torrent then almost dry. It runs past the north end of the pallung, and

¹²² *Shikdar* (Bengali).

¹²³ Illegible.

¹²⁴ *Wit-la-mein-taun* (Burmese).

secured the North Side of the Camp. [T]he water in Rutna pallung is very bad.

The Account of the pallungs I here got is as follows[:] collectively they are called Barra-pallung or the twelve pallungs, which seems to be a word analogous to the pollam of the Coast of Coromandel. Before the Burma incursion they were thickly inhabited, and well cultivated: but the natives have not yet recovered from the fear, which made them desert their abode, and property. Rutna pallung may be considered as the center of these districts, and in it the fields are clear, although it [is] by no means fully inhabited, or properly cultivated. On account of the Guard however it is in the best state of any place in the Vicinity. To the north of Rutna P. is Rungka P., now almost choaked up with wood. East from Rutna is Rutnakaaga P, also nearly in a state of nature. North from the last mentioned place is Hulludea P., through which the Road to Ramoo passes. South from Rutna P. is Huzzalea P. South from thence is Rajah P. called by Mr. Rennell Barrapalong. Farther South is Weella P. All these are somewhat clear. East from Weella P. is a place named Taimooringa: and North from thence is a place formerly inhabited, and named Dingorea beel. Here for a few days resided a person of some consequence among the Rakain, and who was named Damaning. He had a few hundred attendants, and fled hither on the overthrow of his Country by the Burmas: but having been seized with a disorder in his bowels, and being unable to endure the pain, which he attributed to the badness of the water, he returned to Arakan, and with his whole family was put to Death by those sanguinary Conquerors.¹²⁵ South from Weella P. is Kootoo P, almost a forest, and contiguous to Oo-Kia. West from Rajah P is a cleared district, not a Pallung named Kharatty. To the South and West of this all to the Sea is Hills and forests. North from Kharatty, and west from Rutna P., is the Jellea P. through which I came in the morning. North from this is Dua P. and from thence east is Detchua P. which is contiguous to that named Rungka. In the two last there is hardly any clear Ground.

¹²⁵ This may be 'Marring' or another member of the group of refugees whose return was demanded in a letter from the Raja of Arakan to the Chief of Chittagong, dated 24 June 1787, and quoted in Lewin, *Wild Races*, 74-76.

April 6th.

Early in the morning I set out to visit the Southern pallung[s.]. After passing a narrow Wood, I came to that named Huzzalea, which runs east and west to a considerable length, but which is narrow. It has no inhabitants. In order to keep the pasture clear for buffalos, the long grass is annually burnt. I then passed through another Wood, and came to Raja P. where the great Burma Camp was. The Bengalese from Ramoo have here erected long she[ds] for the shelter of their buffalos, of which they keep in these pallungs a great number. Turning a little to the right, I crossed a principal branch of the Rajoo, called the Rajah Pallung cherra. It is larger than where I yesterday passed it, and the stream is of very fine water. At this place surely the Havildars Guard ought to be stationed, as the water here is good, while at Rutna P it is execrable. Besides the military protection would induce the natives to settle farther towards the frontier. The Rivulet separates Kharatty from Rajah and Weella pallungs. Kharatty, like Rajah P, is clear, but uncultivated, and contains a Hut occupied by the Buffalo keepers. [N]ear the hut I found twenty or thirty Bengalese from Ramoo, who had come here to cut ratans in the neighbouring forests. They had killed a Deer, and were drying slips of its muscles cleared of the fat, by smoking them on a grating placed over a slow fire. This kind of dried meat is much est[ee]med among the Bengalese, and all the nations to the Eastward. To the South west of Kharatty, and to the east of Rajah P, are low hills covered with woods. I crossed the stream again a little higher up, and inclining to the left came into Weella P. where there are some buffalo sheds, but no inhabitants. My people here said, that at no great distance they saw a Tiger: but, although I looked carefully, I could see nothing of the kind. Weella P. extends South East towards the rivulet I passed, which descending from Weella taung runs west, till it meets a small stream coming from the hills towards the Sea. It then turns to the north, till it meets another branch of the Rajoo, which turns it west. Beyond this part of it, towards Ookia, there is nothing but Woods and low Hills. Through these, while the Burmas lay here, they had cleared a road, by which they transported their Guns and provisions: but the Trees have again grown up, and now the Road, it is said, is with difficulty passable on foot. I returned through Weella P, and came soon to the remains of the Burma Camp, which separates the two Pallungs called Rajah and

Weella. The head quarters of the Pow-Mayn, or General, were on the right of the Camp, where in the rainy Season a torrent descends from Muin Moora. The Burma force, as I am informed by a person who lived in the Camp, consisted of four thousand Musketeers. They had fifty small Cannon mounted on Ship carriages, and each wrought by two men. The Musketeers were Burmas. The Gunners were Talain[.], Yoodara, and Moormen.¹²⁶ Besides these, there were a large Body of Ra-Kain armed with swords, who served chiefly as pioneers. They had no Elephants, and about twenty Horses only for the use of the principal officers. The soldiers had built very good huts for themselves, and the Officers good houses, where several of them kept their families. From the King they received a monthly allowance of Rice, Salt, and fish, with a little Cloathing: but they had no p[ay]. They were in this Camp four months, and very few of the soldiers were allowed to go beyond the lines. The Rakain pioneers had been detached to Rutnapallung, in order to fortify a new Camp, when the accounts of Colonel Erskines approach made them retreat to Rajah pallung. It is to be observed, that this was only the half of the force sent by the King of Ava: an equal number of Troops remained in readiness on the East Side of the Naaf, had there been occasion for their Services.

From the Burma Camp I returned to Rutnapallung by the same Road I had come. All the level Ground, I to day saw, both woods, and cleared land, was an excellent soil, and during the rains is mostly a Jeel. In such places as are cultivated, it is said to produce fine Crops of Rice.

I conversed to day with some of the people called Mugs at Calcutta, where many of them are employed as Cooks[;] among the Bengalese of Chittigong they are called Rajbunsee.¹²⁷ They speak no language but the Bengalese. Their Books however, they say are written in the Rekain Character. Their Priests, named Raulims, never marry nor intermeddle with secular affairs, and seem to be nearly the

¹²⁶ The Talain are now known as Mon; the Yoodara were people from Ayuthia, and Moormen were Muslim soldiers.

¹²⁷ *Rajbongshi* (Bengali), of royal descent. This title is used by the Barua, i.e. Buddhist Bengalis.

same with the Poun-gres¹²⁸ of Arakan.

April 7th.

Before Sun rise I set out for Ramoo. After passing a few low sandy hills covered with trees, and situated on the north Side of the Burma Camp, I came to a district clear of woo[ds] but covered with long Grass, and named Rungka pallung. North from thence is a wood of some extent, the soil of which is exactly the same with that of the cleared lands. Having passed this wood, I came to another district clear from Trees, but covered with long grass, and named Hilludea pallung. Here some wild buffalos made their appearance, and occasioned such an alarm among my people, that I was in some danger of their running away, and leaving me to walk to Ramoo. There was however little danger to be apprehended, as the buffalos were in a herd, and were running along the skirts of an opposite wood evidently alarmed at our appearance. Solitary buffalos however, especially Males, or females with young Calves, are certainly very dangerous. Passing through some more sandy hills, I came to another district like the former, and named Pagully pallung. The Woody Hills north from this are not so sandy, as those before mentioned: but in many places the soil resembles that in the jooms of Mascally. Among these Hills I passed the principal branch of the Rajoo, which comes from the East, and is fine clear little stream. Beyond this the hills became more Sandy, and on passing them, I came to another deserted pallung named Deelia, which by a few woody Hills is separated from Sunna P. West from this is Dua P. Passing on through more sandy Hills, I crossed Jumkua-cally and Cheem-cherra, two small streams, that after running through Dua P fall into the Rajoo. I now for a considerable way passed through hills and woods, till I came to Coirmoora Cherra, a small stream falling into the Bakcally or Ramoo river, a little below the Cutchery¹²⁹. From this we entered the plain of Ramoo, after passing through some narrow sandy Vallies,

¹²⁸ Pon-kyi (Burmese), Buddhist monk, pongyi. For an explanation of the origin of the Bengali term 'Raulim', see Suniti Bhushan Qanungo, *A History of Chittagong, Volume I (From Ancient Times Down to 1761)* (Chittagong: Signet Library, 1988), 94f.

¹²⁹ Kachhari (Bengali), Magistrate's court and office.

surrounded by Hills, on which grows a fine Timber Tree named Coir (a mimosa which I have called Robusta). At the cutcherry I crossed the River Ramoo, and took up my quarters in the remains of Bungalo built by one of the officers of Colonel Erskines detachment. The River here is deeper than the Mamoree at Chuckerya; but it is neither so rapid, nor so clear. The bottom is mud, and the tide is said to go up farther to a considerable distance.

In the afternoon I received a Visit from Umpry Palong, Chief of a small tribe of the nation by the Bengalese called Joomea Mugs. He says that the proper name of his Tribe is *ချောင်းယား* Kiaung-sa,¹³⁰ or the Sons of the Rivulet, as inhabiting the banks of *ပင်ချောင်း* Pang-wa Kiaung,¹³¹ as all the nations of the Burm[a] race call the Ramoo River. The native language of the Kiaung-sa is the same with the dialect of Arakan, and their writing differs very little from that of the Burmas. He says, that he has Poun-gres, or priests, who are men of learning, and have many Books and that like the Rakain he worship[s] Ma-ha Moo[ny]¹³². His tribe consists of six jooms, or moveable Villages.

1. Umpry Palong, governed by the Chief himself. He is commonly called by this name, but it is only his title, or the name of his Estate, what his real name is I did not learn.
2. Pow-mang A-tsein *ပိုင်မင်အစင်*.¹³³
3. Tuang-pouk
4. Tai-mung Ung-ye
5. Laung-daung-sa
6. A-ra-wo-sa.

These five last Villages are each governed by their *ရွာယား* Rua-sa, tributary to Umpry Palong. He again pays to the Company a Tribute of Cotton, of which he sends a great quantity into the province of Chittigong, from whence it is exported chiefly to the manufacturing districts near Luckipour. He says that in going up the *မြိုင်ချောင်း* Mroo-theik-Kiaung, or Eastern branch of the Naaf, one comes to a hill which stops all farther navigation towards the N[orth?] and is

¹³⁰ Hkyaun-tha (Burmese).

¹³¹ Pin-wa-hkyaun (Burmese).

¹³² Maha Muni, the ancient and highly venerated Buddha image that was taken as booty by King Bo-daw-hpaya's troops during the conquest of Arakan in 1785. Now housed in the Maha Muni Pagoda at Mandalay.

¹³³ Poun-min-a-sein (Burmese)

called သာလုတောင် Sa-lu-daung.¹³⁴ North from there is Pow-mang A-tsein, one of Umpry Pallong's Villages, which stands on a branch of the Pang-wa Kiaung, that goes off to the right. East from Pow-mang A-tsein are the Sak သက် subject to the King of Aree, as the Rakain call Ava. Some of these Sak however are subject to the Umpry Palong, and live in his Villages. Beyond the Sak live ရခိုင် Rakain, for so he writes the word, that the Burmas write ရခိုင်.¹³⁵ In his Country, he says, there are no Moroong. This Chief in his appearance was a poor man with a few trifling Golden Ornaments. He had two ill looking Bengalese attendants, who took every opportunity of restraining his inclination to satisfy my curiosity.

A Rakain of some education informed me, that the Mroo-seit branch of the Naaf river is not so considerable, as that ending at Oo-kia. It is to be observed, that Mroo-seit is the proper orthography: but when the word is followed by Kiaung, or Rivulet, the pronunciation requires the final T. to be changed into K. From what this man says, it would appear, that the Religion of Arakan differs a good deal from that of the orthodox Burma. He says that the great Copper Image, carried from Arakan to Ava after the conquest, is that of Maha-Moony, who is at present the principal object of worship among the Rakain. In Geographical acuteness, as indeed in almost every other respect, I find the Rakain very inferior to the Burmas. They are evidently detested by the natives, both Hindoos and Mussulmans; and, as they are subjected to these people, do not escape without severe oppression; although by the influence of the British Government such butchery cannot be committed on them, as was done, while they remained in the Burma Dominions. The only means of preventing these oppressions would be to give them Officers of their own, entirely independant of the Bengalese, and if possible a separate district for a habitation. The Pallungs and Banks of the Naaf seem well adapted for this purpose: but a considerable Military force stationed there, would be necessary to give them confidence in our protection. Indeed both Rakain and Bengalese are persuaded, that, in the late dispute with the Burmas (1794) the refugees were given up by our Government from fear. I have therefore great doubts, if any permanent establishment could be made to the Southward, without

¹³⁴ *Tha-lu-taung* (Burmese).

¹³⁵ *Ya-hkei; Ya-hkain* (Burmese).

previously humbling the Burmas. Perhaps therefore it would be better to give the Rakain an establishment in the Sunderbunds.

In the evening I walked out through the plain of Ram[oo,] going West along the bank of a narrow Salt water canal named Pateela. At its Eastern end it communicates with the Bak-cally: but it receives the tide from the Cruz-cool river. Its water is very salt, while that of the Bak-cally is quite fresh. It is navigable for small Boats, and serves to open an inland communication between Ramoo and much of the Country to the northward. From east to west the plain of Ramoo may extend about five or six Miles but from North to South not quite so much. The low Hills, which surround it, approach very near at the East and west ends; but recede in the middle, leaving a beautiful oval plain. The ground is so high above the River, that in most places the water is not in sufficient quantity to enable the farmer to have annually two Crops of Rice: but the soil is a very productive mixture of clay and Sand. Bak-cally makes great ravages in this light soil, and frequently changes its Channel, although it be far below the level of the plain. The country is perfectly clear, and tolerably well peopled, although many families are said to have fled on the approach of the Burmas. It is not however so well cultivated, as many other parts of the province.

April 8th.

Early in the morning I went out to view the Country on the upper part of the River. About a mile above the old bungalo it becomes more elevated, many parts not being cultivated for Rice on Account of their height. About the huts of the Natives tobacco, Capsicum and betel-leaf are raised, but the greater part of the Ground is covered with very coarse pasture. Sugar, Cotton, and other valuable productions, would here probably thrive well, as the soil is good: but Sugar is wanted for Country use only, and every farmer plants near his house, as much as he wants: the cotton is supplied in abundance by the Kiaung-sa. About a mile farther East I came to a Creek with a wide mouth, but little water. It is named Oo-kia cherra, and enters on the north side of the Bak-cally. Opposite to its mouth the Hills come down with a sweep from the South close to the Bank of the River. This may indeed be considered as the head of the Ramoo Valley, as

the hills to the north also are at no considerable distance[. A]bove this is another Valley, about a mile in length, and half as much in breadth, and formed by the receding of the Southern hills. It is inhabited, but the soil in some places only admits of being cultivated for Rice, on account of their elevation. This place is extremely well sheltered, and to me seems to be very favourable for a trial of the cultivation of Spices. Advancing higher up the river, the hills on the north side come down, and force the traveller to cross over to the South, which he can do by an easy ford. On these hills a joom was cleared, above which I observed a house belonging to Umpry Palong. To this I again crossed the river at a ford, where the water was clear, and ran swiftly over a bottom of sand. [A]lthough I had no Body with me, but my palankeen bearers, yet our appearance occasioned great alarm among the Kiaung-sa in the huts surrounding that of their Chief; and it was with some difficulty, that we got one of the men to venture himself with us into the joom. The huts seemed to be tolerably comfortable, raised on posts like those of the Burmas, and swarming with people. This place is named Maiscoom,¹³⁶ and at it Umpry Palong has established a market, where his people exchange their Cotton, and other commodities, for Iron-work, earthen ware, and Salt.

During our stay at Maiscoom, there arrived from the usual residence of Umpry Palong two Canoes, in which was the Son in law of that Chief. He was going to Ramoo to purchase earthen Ware, and was a stout young man better dressed than his father in Law: but on account of his rank he did not disdain traffick, nor to handle the Oar. Having walked down through the joom, and seen, that the soil of the hills here exactly resembles that of the hills in Mascally, I came to some rocks, consisting of thin horizontal layers, alternately of sand and clay, slightly indurated. At this place, by the assistance of the young Chief, I crossed the river, which is not fordable, and returned by nearly the same route, as that by which I went up. I kept however farther north, intending to visit a large Rakain Village, said to contain six or seven hundred houses: but I could not get across an old water course. The huts seemed to be tolerably good, and as usual were raised on posts. These people live by cutting Bamboos and ratans, and by carrying on a small trade between Chittigong Luckipour Dacca and Calcutta. Some of them, it is said, rent land. They were all on the way


¹³⁶ Mohishkum, a mouza in Fatekharkul union under Ramu upozila.

to a neighbouring market, loaded chiefly with dried fish and prawns that they had brought from the Villages on the Mascally, and would exchange for Grain, and Cotton, which their women work up into coarse Cloth. The women go to the market like those of the Burmas, and they wore the same dress, but only much poorer.

April 9th.

Very early I set out for Edgong. After crossing the plain of Ramoo, I came to some narrow, but level Vallies, winding through among a number of low sandy hills. These Vallies contain a very rich Soil, and during the rainy Season are much under water. Till lately the tide flowed up through them, and they produced in abundance the Soondur, Roona, and other Sunderbund trees. The mouths of the Creeks, by which the tide entered, having now been shut up, these marine productions are fast decaying, even where they have not been cut down for the Cultivation of Rice. However a quantity of excellent Ground still remains to be cleared: but the process seem to be carrying on with industry. The Soil of the hills, although it produces many stately trees, is poor, and contains much Kongkar, a kind of small stony concretion, differing from gravel in not being water worn.

Having passed these Vallies, I came to the Joareeah nullah, which here is a small clear stream. Its immediate Banks are sandy: but on its north side there is a pretty little valley well cultivated. After leaving this, I had, all the way to Edgong, a very bad hilly road. The Soil of the Hills is very poor, but produces fine trees. Several small streams of pure water pass to the westward: and on the Banks of two of them, the Douilly, and Kally cherras,¹³⁷ there is some level Ground, which although not yet cleared, seems capable of cultivation.

In the evening I walked out to the Rakain Village, where I met with six men of the nation by the Bengalese called Moroong. [T]hey are those, whose name  ¹³⁸ is pronounced Mroo by the Rakain, and Myoo by the Burmas. They call themselves Mo-roo-sa. In their features and accent they entirely resemble the Rakain. They were quite naked, except a small bit of cloth used for the sake of

¹³⁷ Dholir chhora and Khali(?) chhora, in Joaria Nala union, Ramu upozila.

¹³⁸ Myo (Burmese).

decency. Their long hair was collected in a knot on their foreheads, like that of the Burmas. Some of them wore a turban, like the Rakain; while others had tied round their heads wide fillets of Green beads. Their Ears necks and Arms were adorned with large Rings of brass and white Copper, and with strings of beads. They inhabit the banks of the upper part of the Edgong river, and are subjects of Kaung-la-pru: but have a Ru[a]-sa of their own tribe. They live by cultivating jooms, and eat every kind of animal, Cows, buffalos, Cats, Dogs, Snakes, Lizards, and the like. I could not discover, that they had any religious Ideas. They said, they knew no God (Takoor), and that they never prayed to Maha-moony, Ram, nor Khooda. When asked where they went when dead, they replied, that they were burned. They can neither read nor write: but can speak the Rakain dialect of the Burma language, although not fluently. From the following Vocabulary it would appear, that their native tongue has some affinity to that of the Burmas.

English	Mo-roo-sa	English	Mo-roo-sa	English	Mo-roo-sa
Sun	Ta-nee	Beast	Ko-paw	Nine	Ta-koo
Moon	Pu-law	Bird	To-waw	Ten	Ha-moot
Stars	Kray	Fish	Dam	Eat	Tsa
Earth	Kraung	Good	Yoong	Drink	Cam
Water	Too-ee	Bad	Yoong-duay	Walk	Ma-ny-b[o] ¹³⁹
Fire	Mai	Great	A-yoo-ko	Sleep	Eep
Stone	Tow-hoa	Little	A-tsoi-tsa	Sit	Tsom
Wind	Rlee	Long	A-krang	Sand	Roo
Man	Mo-roo	short	A-toung	Kill	Taep
Woman	Mec-sar	one	Lou	Yes	Na-za
Child	Na-sa	two	Pray	No	Na-do[i] ¹⁴⁰
Head	Loo	Three	Soum	Here	Wang
Mouth	Nor	Four	Ta-lee	There	Pai-ko[u] ¹⁴¹
Arm	Boung	Five	Ta-nga	Above	O-roo-ko[.. ¹⁴²
Leg	Sae-pom	Six	Ta-rouk	Below	Krong-k[.. ¹⁴³
Foot	Ko-Koum	Seven	Ra-neet		
Hand	Roo-koom	Eight	Ree-at		

¹³⁹ Illegible.¹⁴⁰ Illegible.¹⁴¹ Illegible.¹⁴² Illegible.¹⁴³ Illegible.

The Edgong River is by the Mo-roo-sa called Ree-kan-go and they say that it comes from the west side of the Mein-daung. On the other side of these hills they never were: but they have heard that there resides a people called Kaung-me, and beyond these a tribe named Shein-du. The [S]ak live south from these last; partly on this side of Mein-daung, and partly on the Mroo-seit river. North from the Sak live also another people named Kulak Sak who speak a dialect nearly resembling the Burma. There is a tribe named Mooung, which also is subject to Kaung-la-pru, but different from the Mo-roo. All these tribes cultivate jooms. In Arakan north from a place named Ku-la-deing¹⁴⁴ live many Mo-roo-sa and Kiaung-sa: and it is a party of refugees from thence, that now cultivate the jooms on Mascally island. On the upper parts of the Sunkar River, east from Mein-daung, lives the Mang, or Prince of the Bon-joo-gy, who has also subject to him the people called Lan-ka, Lan-ga or Koongkies. He is an independant Prince.

April 10th.

Early in the morning I returned to Khoonda-cally by the same Route that I came. It is said, that the banks of the upper part of this rivulet are quite uninhabited.

April 11th.

I set out very early for Manicpour, by the same road I had used in coming from Chuckerya to Khoonda-cally: The Paoli-beel on the South is bounded by a fine little rivulet named Argasa nullah, and on the north by another named Paoli cherra. Between this and Dulloohazary the low hills are of an exceeding good soil, like those in Mascally: and a joom of considerable extent is now clearing among them by some Rakain. A similar soil prevails among the Hills for some way north from Dulloohazary, and there many vestiges remain to show, that jooms have been formerly cultivated. On approaching

¹⁴⁴ Kaladan valley in Arakan.

Chuckerya the soil becomes worse and full of Kongkar. Among them however a Fakeer has formed a large tank, named Subessea talo[u].

Having entered Chuckerya Valley, I went obliquely up to its head, and crossed the river a little below the Rock that approaches its South side. I then went on to the N.E., through a well cultivated, and inhabited Valley. The soil here is very good, and the fields are high. A range of hills coming down from the north made me again cross the river, and enter a district on its south side named Pooraspour.¹⁴⁵ On the east side of this some hills run a cross the Mamooree Valley, and separate the two districts Pooraspour and Manicpour. Part of the ground here is very low, but, as I advanced, I found it rising again, and soon after I a third time crossed the River, and entered that part of Manicpour, which is situated on the north Side of the Mamooree. The River here is much larger, and more beautiful, than the Bak-cally at Ramoo. The Hills to the East are as high as Seetacoon and in various parts of them the woods are burning by the cultivators of Jooms. These hills appear to me to be a continuation of that ridge of which Weella taung forms a peak.

Soon after my arrival I was visited by some young men belonging to the family of the *Ruasa* of the nearest *joom*. They were clean good looking young lads, much superiour in their appearance to the people of Umpry Palong: but they said, that they were of the same nation, and called themselves both Kiaung-sa, and Taung-sa တောင်ဝေ ¹⁴⁶ or the Sons of the Hill. They were subjects of Kaung-la-pru by the Bengalese called Sirdar of the Joomea m[ugs]. Near this, I am told by these lads, there is a *Ruasa* named ဇင်ဇိန် Sang-zein,¹⁴⁷ chief of a tribe by the Kiaung-sa named မြိုင် Mroo. These, it is to be observed, are different from a people by the Kiaung-sa named မြိုင် Mroung, and by the Burmas called မြိုင် Myoun:¹⁴⁸ but by the Bengalese both are confounded under the name of Moroong. The Mroung wear their hair tied in a knot on the nape of the neck, by which they may easily be distinguished from the Mo-roo, who wear their knot of hair on the forehead. By the Kiaung-

¹⁴⁵ Surajpur in Karaka union, Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district.

¹⁴⁶ *Taun-tha* (Burmese).

¹⁴⁷ *Zin-sein* (Burmese).

¹⁴⁸ *Myo; Myoun; Myoun* (Burmese).

sa the appellation ဝေသမြိုင် Wa-thé Mroo¹⁴⁹ is often given to the Mroung. One of their Chiefs, tributary to Kaung-la-pru, and named ပုမ်မာကျီ Poum-ma-kae,¹⁵⁰ lives six days journey east from Manicpour: of these four days journey are by water, and two by land.

We were soon joined by a Mo-roo named King-dai, who in his appearance was somewhat more polished than his Countrymen, with whom I met at Edgong. He belonged to a village at some distance under the authority of a Ruasa he named Layklang. I now compared the Vocabulary procured at Edgong: and as I find King-dais dialect differs somewhat, I shall give a list of words I procured from him, and also a list of the same words in the dialect of the Kiaung-sa, which is nearly the same with the Rakain, and that again is a mere dialect of the Burma language.

English	Kiaung-sa	Mo-roo-sa	English	Kiaung-sa	Mo-roo-sa
Sun	Nee	Sat	Child	Loo-shee	Mo-roo-sha
Moon	Law	Law-ma	Head	Gaung	Lo
Stars	Kree	Kray	Mouth	Ko-naung	Nor
Earth	Mo-ree	Kraung	Arm	Lay-maung	Baung
Fire	Mee	Mai	Hand	Lay-wa	Roo-pa
Stone	Kiouk	Mai-hua	Leg	Kree-ei	Klaung
Wind	Lee	Lee	Foot	Po-wa	Ko-paw
Rain	Mo	Mo-whang	Bird	Hngaek	Wa-ouk
Man	Loo	Mo-roo	Fish	Nga	Dam
Woman	Meem-ma	Mo-sheewa	Good	Kaung	Yaung
Bad	Ma Kaung	Yaung-da	Ten	Tsay	Haw
Great	Kree	Yoog-ma	Eat	Tsaw	Tsaw
Little	Shay	Sum-tcha	Drink	Souk	Kam
Long	A-Kree	Klang-ma	Sleep	Eit	Eim-moi
Short	A-to	A-tong-sha	Walk	Hlay	Tsam-psa
One	Tay	Lak	Sit	Tein	Tsam
Two	Hnay	Pray	Stand	Ta	Roo
Three	Soum	Soom	Kill	Koy-may	Too-tay-moi
Four	Lay	Ta-lee	Yes	Hooi-ou	Na
Five	Nga	Ta-nga	No	Ma-hou-poo	Po-da-po
Six	Kro	Ta-ro	Here	Heea	Oay
Seven	Ko-ney	Ra-neet	There	A-wee-ma	O-ro

¹⁴⁹ *Wa-thei-myo* (Burmese).

¹⁵⁰ *Bouk-ma-kyi* (Burmese).

Eight	Shay	Ryat	Above	Gaungka-ma	Mo-kaung
Nine	Ko	Ta-ko	Below	A-nee	Yooa

The Bengalese by this Moroo-sa were called Koar. He said, that none of his tribe ever adored the Gods. He knew of no Body, that lived to the Eastward, and said, that in that direction there was nothing but high hills, which his Countrymen name Soung-soung. He was very anxious to go away, and said, that his house was at a great distance.

After dinner I walked about a mile, and crossed the River to visit Aung-ghio-se Tam-mang, Chief of the Kiaung-sa in this neighbourhood. His residence consists of a few houses disposed in a street parallel to the river, and at a little distance from its bank, having at its east end a stream named Yaung-sa,¹⁵¹ and at its western extremity a small hill, on which is built a Kiaung, or Convent of Poun-gres. I found the Chiefs house of considerable size, and raised high on pillars. The stair was very bad, being nothing more than a notched stick. From the stair we landed on a Bamboo platform. To our right was a tolerably large hall, into which we were conducted: and on our left were the apartments of the women, who kept out of sight. Aung-ghio-se is the proper name, and Tam-mang the title of this rua-sa, who received me with great respect, and civility. In the hall was no furniture, except at one end a small stool which was given to me, a carpet reserved for the Chief, and a few mats for his family. The poor man was at a great loss about the ceremonials, and wished to make my Servants sit down with his Children, and relations. I learned very little from him, except that he had heard of a River on the other side of Mein-daung named Zeing-dang, and that its banks were inhabited by Rakain.

Soon after we had been seated, we were joined by a Priest who was in the same dress used by the Burma Rahans,¹⁵² and who said, that they belonged to the same Order. All that I could learn from this priest was, that he worshipped Maha Moony, a Brother of Godoma: but whether or not this term of Brother was meant literally, I could not understand. The priest said, that there had been five Moonies, of

¹⁵¹ cf. Yongchay, a mouza in Lama union, Lama upozila, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

¹⁵² *Yahan* (Burmese), Buddhist priest. A 'poun-gre' (pongyi) is also a priest (rahan), but of a higher order (e.g. abbot of a convent (kyaun)).

whom Godama was the 4[th,] but that he having obtained Nirban, was no longer to be worshipped. The God at present in power, he said, was Maha-Moony. I asked where that Divinity resided, to which the priest replied, that formerly he resided at Ra-kain, but now what had become of him he could not say: by this I suppose he meant the large brasen Image, which after the conquest of Arakan was removed to Amarapura.¹⁵³ The priest said he had Books but among them none that treated of History.

12th. April

In the morning I set out to visit a Mo-roo joom. Proceeding east through the Valley of Manicpour, at its head I came to woods, and a path leading through a narrow Valley surrounded by low Hills. The soil both of Valley and hills is good. I then came to the river Side, where there is very fine scenery, with high steep hills descending on each side to the edge of the water. The river however is not rapid, and its bed is sand. Going up a little farther I observed on the opposite hills some Mo-roo-sa, who were burning the wood to clear a Joom. On calling to them I was answered by King-dai, the man with whom I yesterday conversed. He directed me to go up a little farther, and there to cross the River. Having done so, and ascended a steep hill, which two years ago had been a Joom, I walked on a little, and came to the Village, where I was joined by King-dai. The village consisted of about twenty houses forming one straight lane, the two Rows of which were distant about 10 feet. The buildings were exactly like those of the Joomea Mugs, or Kiaung-sa. The under part is enclosed, and serves to secure the Hogs, and Poultry, of which these people have abundance. I went up to the House of my acquaintance King-dai by a notched stick, from which I landed on a platform. This, like that at Aung-ghio-ses, led to two apartments: the one belonging to the Women, and also serving for a Store house; the other serving for a Hall. In this we sat down on the floor. There was no furniture in the room except a Drum, and a little Box full of earth placed in a Corner, and serving for a hearth. Bamboos split, and laid open into a kind of Plank, were used both for making the floor and Walls, and answer

¹⁵³ Twin town of Ava, the capital of Burma.

very well in a hot Climate. The House was clean.

King-dai, whom I suspected to be the head-man of the Village, utterly denied his being a great man, and said, that he was a *ryot*¹⁵⁴ or farmer belonging to Lay-Klang, who lived at a great distance. I had before detected him in endeavouring to conceal the truth, and I believe that he now was lying, being afraid, that I wanted to bring him into trouble. He was indeed very anxious to know what brought me to the Village, and his suspicion was evidently increased by my saying that I was induced solely by curiosity. Soon after my arrival we were joined by eight or ten stout young men, who were desirous of partaking in the conversation. They smoked out of long pipes like those in use among the Chinese. The Mistress of the house attended to give the guests Tobacco and fire. The old people and Children kept at a distance. Both sexes are thick and squat, and have tolerable features of the Chinese kind.

The men wear their hair tied up in a knot, which proje[cts] over the forehead. In their ears they have large circular flat Rings of metal. At this season they use no clothing, but a narrow blue Sash, which they pass round the haunches, and between the legs. In cold weather, or in high dress, they throw round their shoulders a piece of Cotton cloth chequered red blue and white, something like the highland plaid.

The Women, who are a great deal too plump to be handsome, tie their hair behind. Our young Landlady had cylindrical hollow silver Ear-rings, about four inches long, and one in Diameter, which she wore after the Burma fashion. Round her neck she had a string of coral Beads, and on one of her Arms a thick white metal Ring. Her only clothing was a piece of Blue Cloth about a foot wide, and just so long as to meet at the ends round her haunches, where its upper edge was secured by a number of strings of white beads bound round her like a Sash. The two ends of this cloth just meeting at one of her haunches, showed at every step almost the whole outside of her left thigh. The other women were dressed in a similar manner, but not quite so fine. In full dress the women also wear a chequered Cloth round their Shoulders.

These people seem to have abundance of provisions. Hogs, Goats, Fowls, Fish, Snakes, and Lizards, form their common animal food. Hogs and Fowls they have in plenty: but they say, that the Tigers have

¹⁵⁴ *Raiyot* (Bengali), tenant.

taken away all their Goats. The Tigers they venture to attack with their short spears: but they do not eat such as they kill. The Bengalese, they say, falsely attribute to them, the eating of Cats and Dogs. This is done by a tribe only named Paung-sa, some of whom are in this neighbourhood under a rua-sa called Lay-sing. In their jooms they cultivate Rice, Cotton, a kind of Cucumber, Arum or Kutchee, Tobacco, and several other Vegetables. They sell the Cotton, and buy all the Cloth they use. They make a kind of fermented Liquor, which they call Arack. It is also prepared by the Kiaung-sa, Rakain, and Rajbunsee, in the following manner. The Root of a Shrub, which the Mo-roo-sa name Toa, and the Bengalese call Moolee¹⁵⁵, is bruised and from it is extracted a farinaceous substance, which with the addition of a little Rice-flour is made into Cakes like biscuit. These Cakes also are named Toa, and Moolee, and may be kept for a long time. When Arack is to be made, some of the Toa cake is mixed with entire Rice, and wet with water. This wet mixture by standing one day ferments, and forms a Mass by the Mo-roo-sa called Yoo. More water is then added to the Yoo, and the fermentation is allowed to go on for three days. The Liquor is then decanted, and boiled, when it is fit for use. The Grains are given to Hogs, and make them very fat. I think it probable that the Portuguese first showed the inhabitants how to distill this Arack, and that the original name of the fermented liquor has now passed amongst us to that which has been distilled.

By no questions, that occurred to me, could I discover, that these people have any ideas of God, of Spirits, or of a state of future existence. They said, that they did not pray, that they never saw, nor heard the spirits of the dead, and that they knew nothing of *Bou*[¹⁵⁶] or *Nat*, but heard the Bengalese and Rakain talk of such things. Their Dead they commonly keep in the house three days, during which time they feast, and make a great noise with Drums. They then burn the Body. If the deceased has been a person of note, they open the Belly, and put in some Drugs, by which means they can

¹⁵⁵ Footnote in text:

'Some young plants of this I procured, and brought to the Botanical Garden at Calcutta, where it is thriving[;] not having seen the flower yet, I have not ascertained what it is.'

¹⁵⁶ Illegible.

preserve the body for nine days. In King-dais House, near where the Drum hung, I observed stuck into the wall some bones and feathers, which I suspected to have been done with some superstitious view.

While I remained at this Village Aung-ghio-se with all his family, and attendants, male and female passed by in procession carrying bamboos adorned with flowers. A sword of state was carried behind the Chief. King-dai said, that they were going to pray at a place in the neighbourhood.

Soon after returning to my tent I was visited by Aung-ghio-se, who presented me with a fat pig. He said, that the procession, I saw, was an annual visit to the Mroo, made in order to keep up a friendly correspondence with that people. In writing he gave me the following account of the rivulets that fall into the Mamoree above Manicpour.¹⁵⁷ To the translation of this account I shall add such explanations, as he gave by word of mouth. He has mentioned the names of the most considerable Rivulets only, or such as during the dry season contain water.

"Aung-ghio-se Tammangs Village is on the Yaung-sa.

"Above that is Be-su-re"¹⁵⁸ [T]his is not a rivulet, but a valley culti-

¹⁵⁷ Footnote in text, in another hand (Buchanan's own?), on a separate, smaller sheet:

'In place of this long account may be inserted the annexed paragraph:

From a written account he gave me of the Mamoree river upwards from Manicpour I learn, that from each side it receives many perennial streams, besides others that are dry in the hot season. The banks of these are inhabited by various tribes of Joomeas Mroo Mroung and Tiperah, under the authority of *Ruassas* appointed by Kaung-la-pru. Of these a Joomea tribe is named Sa-bouk-sa, from having formerly come from the banks of the Sa-bouk river, which Aung-ghio-se says is a branch of the Sunkar. One place a little above Manicpour is inhabited by Mussulmans. The Mamoree rises from a hill named Kreindan, on crossing which the traveller comes to a river called Zeingdan, which falls into the sea of Arakan by the Ma-yu river.'

¹⁵⁸ The following modern names can be identified:

Be-su-re: Bilchhori, Karaka union, Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district;

Baung-ngu: Bomu, ibidem;

La-mah-ya-Kiaung: rivulet at Lama, upozila headquarters, Banderbon district;

Ka-maur-rab-bu to Wun-boung-Kiaung: rivulets in Dordori and Chhagolkhaiya mouzas,

Lama upozila (Ka-maur is probably *khamar* (Bengali), here: seasonal farm);

Tuin-Kiaung: rivulet in Toin mouza, Alikodom union, Lama upozila;

Dun-gie to Dah-sue Kiué: rivulets in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest;

Krein-dan: possibly Keokradang (2,960 ft, 902 m), on the southern border between

Banderbon district (Bangladesh) and Arakan (Burma);

vated by Mahommedans, who inhabit both sides of the river.

"Above Be-su-re is Baung-ngu."

"Above Baung-ngu on the left hand is Ra-me."

"Above that on the left hand is La-mah-ya-Kiaung, and Taung Rua-sa." This Rua-sa is a Joomea Mug.

"Above that on the right hand is Ka-maur-rab-bu, and Wa-nué Rua-sa."

"Above that on the left hand is Rauk Kiaung." no inhabitants.

"Above that on the right hand is Bo-re."

"Above that on the right hand is Ngap-pio," the plantain tree.

"Above that on the left hand Suing Kiaung." near this is a place called Tintorea. "Above that on the right hand is Wun-boun-Kiaung."

"Above that on the left hand is Tuin-Kiaung" Here live some of those Mo-roong, that have their hair tied behind.

"Above that on the right hand is Dun-gie and Ku-liek rua sa." He is a Joomea or Kiaung-sa.

"Above that on the right hand is Pu-suang Kiaung."

"Above that on the right hand Nga-naur-row." [T]his the Bengalese call Kalya-cherra.

"Above that on the left hand is Ser-raung Kiaung."

"Above that on the right is Prein-Kiaung." Here live Tiperah.

"Above that on the left hand is Nga-ya-sa." Here lives Sa-ra-pru rua-sa.

"Above that on the right hand is Kuein-Kiaung."

"Above that on the right hand is Ka-maung-laek-gnow-gnive." This extraordinary name is said to belong to an extraordinary tree. [N]ear it reside Sa-bouk-sa, who are of the same tribe with the Joomea, but are distinguished by this appellation from having originally come from the Sa-bouk river, which is a branch of the Sunkar.

"Above that on the left hand is Kang-me."

"Above that on the left hand is Ka-maung-Kiaung."

"Above that on the right hand is Bué-tee."

"Above that on the right hand is Bé-de."

"Above that on the left hand is Sang-lang-pah."

"Above that on the left hand is Mu-re-pah."

Zeing-dan: Sein-din river in Arakan, a tributary of the Ma-yu river.

"Above that on the right hand is Be-de shé."
 "Above that on the right hand is Da-bru-Kiaung."
 "Above that on the left hand is A-go-lo."
 "Above that on the right hand is Ma-ra-me."
 "Above that on the left is Tein-du."
 "Above that on the left hand is Sein-du." Here live Joomea.
 "Above that on the right hand is Da-bru-Kiaung the lesser."
 "Above that on the right hand is Dah-sue Kiué."
 "Above Dah-sue Kiué is the mountain Krein-dan."
 "On the other side of Krein-dan is Zeing-dan."
 "Zein-dan runs into the Ma-yu river." He says, that the Zeing-dan is larger than the Mamooree, and falls into the Ma-yu, in the same manner as the Mamooree does into the Mascally.

Aung-ghio-se says, that Lay-kray is the name, by which he knows the Mroo chief on the south side of the river, and that Lay-sing, and his people the Paung-sa, are exactly the same people with the other Mroo[:] the appellation Paung-sa arising from some circumstance in the payment of the Revenue. He also says, that King-dai deceived me, when he alledged that he did not eat Cats, and dogs: for among the Mroo this practice is universal.

Altho' some of the richer Mroo take two wives, Aung-ghio-se says, that one is by the greater part considered as enough. The lover, when he wishes to marry, makes a present to the parents of some Knives, Bills, Swords, or other Iron work, or, if a very rich man, of a Cow. If the offer is accepted, the mother delivers up the Girl, who is conducted home with Dancing and feasting, and without any further ceremony she is considered as married. The *Rua-sas* commonly settle disputes: but the different Villages frequently fight with each other. When a man dies his property is divided equally among his Children: but if the Father of the Deceased is living, he takes all, and gives the Grand Children only what he pleases. The wife is also entitled to a share of her Husbands Effects, when he dies.

The Tiperah and Mroung, Aung-ghio-se says, dress alike, and speak the same language. From some circumstance in collecting the revenue these Mroung are frequently called Wa-thé Mroo. From some similar circumstance the Mroo proper are called Lay Mroo.

In my evening walk I went North across the plain, and then turned West down the bank of the River. Manicpour consists of two parts: the largest on the north, the smallest on the South side of the River.

The greater part of it is so high, as to lodge little water during the rainy season, some parts of it are even so high as to be unfit for the cultivation of Rice. The river formerly ran by the foot of the Northern hills, and there the land is still very low. The Hills surrounding this Valley contain much good soil, and are well watered. I have seen no place, during my journey, more likely to answer for the cultivation of Spices.

A Mussulman, who to day served me as a Guide, in the evening brought me another man, and from the two I obtained the following account of the Voyage up the Mamooree.

Immediately in the Vicinity of Manicpour are four Moroong Chiefs or *Rua sas*: Sam-sing, Say-cam, and Lou-sam on the left going up the River, and on the right Unnur. It is to be observed, that both Mroo and Mroung are by the Bengalese called Moroong. To distinguish the last mentioned tribe from the Mroo they are often called Deinea-Moroong.¹⁵⁹

From Manicpour it is one short days Journey in a Canoe to Beelcherry,¹⁶⁰ a Mussulman Village.

On the Second day the traveller arrives at Kamaurrabu, where there lives a Joomea *ruasa* named Wanué.

On the third day the traveller reaches Tintoria, near which resides Moshang, a *Ruasa* of the Deinea Moroong.

On the fourth day the Traveller reaches the mouth of Tuin cherra at the residence of a Deinea Moroong *ruasa* named Da weng.

On the fifth the traveller comes to Dunzee cherra, where he finds Joomea mugs under their *ruasa* Oodia.

On the sixth day the traveller arrives at Kalya cherra, the residence of Pomang, a *ruasa* of the Deinea Moroong.

The Seventh days journey brings the traveller to Pein cherra, near which lives a Joomea *ruasa* named Sarapru.

On the eighth day the traveller reaches Kangme or Kamm[e¹⁶¹], the residence of Addy, a *Ruasa* of the Deinea Moroong.

¹⁵⁹ = Doingnak? This term, here used to refer to the Mroung who are closely related to the Tippera, is found in later accounts to refer to other ethnic groups: one in Arakan and the Tongchengya of the Chittagong hills. The Tongchengya, of whom there is no mention in Buchanan's account, split off from the Chakmas in 1782, if later reports are to be credited. See Lewin, *Wild Races*, 164-165, cf. 182-183.

¹⁶⁰ Bilchhori, identical with Aung-ghio-se's 'Be-su-re.'

¹⁶¹ Illegible.

On the ninth day the traveller comes to the Residence of a Joomea ruasa named Saummoo.

The tenth days journey brings the traveller to the residence of Nundoo Pomang, a Sabouk Mug, that is to say one who came from the banks of the Sabouk river, which, these Mussulmans say, is in Arakan. There is great reason to believe, that lately many refugees have come from Arakan, and settled among the Joomeas, their Countrymen: but this they keep a profound secret, not knowing but that the Government might deliver them up to the Burmas. Kaung-la-pru, the greatest Joomea Chief, is said to have been born in Chittigong, but he was certainly educated in Arakan, and passed there the greatest part of his youth.¹⁶² I am therefore in this instance inclined to prefer the evidence of the Mussulmans, and to believe, that the Sabouk river is in Arakan.

So far as Nundoo Pomangs residence Canoes can go up the Mamooree, and one of these Canoes will in one day go and return from Manicpour to Dowdusty Khans haut: but in ascending the river, the passage constantly becoming more difficult, the stages m[ust] of course be shorter. From the Village of Nundoo Pomang upwards the river is full of stones, and its bank[s] are uninhabited: but for two days journey farther Canoes can be pushed on with some difficulty. Above that the river falls down the steepes of Muinmoora, beyond which these Mussulmans never were. They say, that the Mamooree, Bak-cally, and Naaf, all arise from the west side of Muinmoora, and that they have heard of a nullah, or small River, beyond the hill, which runs South to the Ma-yu, and of which the Banks are inhabited by Rossawn Mugs. They have heard of those Sak only, who live on the Banks of the Bak-cally.

¹⁶² According to Hutchinson, the Moghuls drove Kaung Hla Hpru to Arakan in 1756. In 1774, owing to oppression from the Arakan court, he returned to the Chittagong district, and established himself with his followers at Ramu, Idgor and along the Matamuhuri river. He settled at 'Maxikhal' on the Shongu river in 1804. After his death in 1819 he was succeeded by his son Sa Taing Hpru, who moved to Bandorbon in 1822, and died in 1840. R. H. Sneyd Hutchinson, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers: Chittagong Hill Tracts* (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1909), 28-29.

Buchanan's account establishes that in the 1790s Kaung Hla Hpru lived at Sualok near Bandorbon. Sa Taing Hpru appears to be Kaung Hla Hpru's second son, his eldest, Sa Da Hpru having predeceased his father.

These Mussulmans say, that from this there is a road leading to Sualuc,¹⁶³ and going off to the North at a small stream named Baung-ngu, which runs into the Mamooree a little above Beelcherry. When Kaung-la-pru used annually to visit Manicpour, this Road was cleared every year: but as he has not made this Visit for the last three years, the Road is now overgrown with bushes. Another road leads from Manicpour to the upper part of the Edgur Valley. It passes by the Yaungsa rivulet, which rises from the north Side of a Hill, that from its Southern face pours its waters into the Edgong River.

In the evening I was Visited by a young Joomea from Mascally Island. He is evidently of the same tribe with the people here, and says, that he has come to assist at some festival. He says also, that Aung-ghio-se, and his whole tribe, are in a state of intoxication, especially a man, whom I procured to go as a messenger to bring some of the Deinea Moroong.

13th. April

Having left a servant behind in order, if possible, to bring on my messenger with the Moroong. I very early set out, and descended the Banks of the Mamooree, till I came to that part of the River where the road strikes off to Barratulla. Here I stopped at the mouth of a small Valley named Koir-beel.¹⁶⁴ The soil, all the way is very good: in some places tolerably high, in others what is called Jeel.

About noon my Servant arrived with the Joomea messenger I had engaged to bring me a Deinea Moroong. I was anxious to see one of these people, in order to ascertain the truth of Aung-ghio-ses report of their being of the same tribe with the Tiperah. The Messenger came without accomplishing his errand. He said, that the people were afraid, and would not come: but I suspected, that his last nights drunkenness was the cause of his failure. He told me, that Aung-ghio-se is rich, and makes a great profit by lending out his money to the Mroo, who leave with him their young Daughters as pledges for the repayment. From all that I have here able to learn, I have little doubt,

¹⁶³ Sualok, a mouza in Tarachha union, Bandorbon upozila and district.

¹⁶⁴ Koiyer Bil, a mouza in Lokkhyarchor union, Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong.

but that all the subjects of Kaung-la-pru, except a few Tiperah, have originally come from Arakan.

In the evening I walked round the Valley called Koir-beel, which is separated from Chuckerya by low hills, and runs nearly North and South. Part of it is fine high ground cultivated with Capsicum; but towards its head, and East side, it is very low. The Soil of the adjacent Hills is tolerable like *joom* lands. Here the Natives have been so much infested by wild Hogs, that they have been at the pains to destroy the underwood, which gave shelter to those destructive animals. The cultivation of this province might doubtless be greatly improved by clearing the hills. Wherever the soil is fit for *Jooms* it might, I think, probably be cultivated to great advantage by a rotation of Crops. And even where the Soil is sandy, were nothing permitted to grow but the different kinds of Gurgeon, the Jarool, the Cheekarussy, and other valuable trees, and were all the underwood be kept down, these hills in the rainy season would be covered with grass, and would afford pasture to [the] numerous Herds of Cattle, that, from all the low Grounds being then under rice, are starving. The neglect of their Cattle seems indeed to be a p[re]valent feature in the Bengalese husbandry.

Immense floats of Bamboos, and Grass thatch, are carried down the Mamoree, and through various creeks conducted to Chittigong. Concerning this business I endeavoured to get information from two people belonging to some floats; but, like every other person here, they said hardly any thing, in which I could confide. From Baung-ngu they had brought the Bamboos and Grass in small floats down to where they met the tide. They then of the Bamboos made up floats of about 50 feet long, 20 broad, and 3 deep. On these they pile the Grass, at each side leaving a Gangway, on which they walk in poling along the float. On the fore part of the float they have a small tilt, under which the conductor sleeps. One man conducts a float, and two floats are always tied together. The men varied from 300 to 3000 in their accounts of the number of Bamboos contained in each float. The latter number seems to be the most probable.

14th. April

I set out very early for Hurvung. In passing through Barratulla, I

observed that the Natives had made a mound across the River, and had turned the water out on the fields, which in consequence had acquired a fine Verdure: but no cultivation had been begun, owing I suppose, to the want of Rain, of which there has as yet none fallen. I stopped at Oorea ruasas haut in Hurvung. About it the ground consists of high rice fields, intermixed with little hills not of a bad soil, as they produce Jack ([A]rtocarpus integrifolia), Mango and Plantain Trees. Hitherto in the day the weather has been very hot, the Thermometer in my tent being from 85° to 90°[F¹⁶⁵]: but the nights have been cool, and towards morning a blanket has in general been comfortable. There have been heavy dews, but not much Fog. To day a little [after noon] we had thunder with a few drops of rain.

The Valley of Hurvung runs nearly N.E. and S.W., and contains a good deal of ground yet uncleared. It is extremely beautiful, and owing to the intermixture of small hills appears smaller, than it really is.

I here had a Visit from Puran Bisungri, the Tannadar¹⁶⁶ of Ramoo, who although a Hindoo was born in Arakan, is acquainted with that Country, and writes with facility its language. On the Burma invasion (1784) he fled, and having been useful to Colonel Erskine, whil[s]t the Burma Troops were in this Province (1794), he has been appointed to his present office, which is the care of the Police in the District of Ramoo. For my satisfaction he made some Draughts of the Arakan Country, which are extremely rude, although he accompanied Mr. Robinson in his Surveys, and consequently might have formed some Ideas of our Maps. Of a Map, he says, the Rakain have not the smallest Idea. Indeed in acuteness they are a people extremely inferior to the Burmas. The following explanation of the Draughts I wrote, as it was given me at the time by Puran Bisungri.

By the Rakain the Sea is named သိဒ္ဓိ Se-da,¹⁶⁷ a name, which among the Burmas is applied only to some fabulous Seas, which in their cosmogony are supposed to surround the Centre of this Earth. The hills extending South from the mouth of the Rajoo to the mouth of the Naaf the Rakain call ငဝ်တောင့် Ngait-taung;¹⁶⁸ for

¹⁶⁵ = 29-32° C.

¹⁶⁶ *Thanadar* (Bengali), officer in charge of a police station (*thana*).

¹⁶⁷ *Thi-da* (Burmese).

¹⁶⁸ *Ngat-taun* (Burmese).

the Naaf river is by them called ငတ် Ngait. The mouth of the Naaf lying between Chittigong and ယုင်မြူကျွန်း Shang-pru-kiun,¹⁶⁹ or the Island of the white Prince, is full of Rocks: but the mouth between the island Shang-pru and Rakain will admit ships, and is called ငတ်ဝါ Ngai-wa,¹⁷⁰ the T final being here quiescent. In a small Island on the East Side of the Naaf, named ဝပြူ Wa-pru,¹⁷¹ the Burmas have established a ခင် Kayn¹⁷² or Custom House. South from the principal mouth of the Naaf is an Island named နာကောင်ဝို Na-kaung-dó.¹⁷³ In going North up the Naaf, or Ngait river, the traveller comes to an Island named နံသာကျွန်း Nein-sa-kiun.¹⁷⁴ At this island the river divides into two branches: the one running to the N.W. is ဝဲချ Oo-kia,¹⁷⁵ the other coming from the N.E. is the smallest, and is named မြူသစ်ချောင်း Mroo-seik-Kiaung.¹⁷⁶ South from the Naaf enters a small river called ဟပ်ဆားလ Hats-tsah-la,¹⁷⁷ which comes from the N.E., descending from the Western face of the high hills, which are seen from the Naaf, and which are called မယုတာင် Ma-yu-taung.¹⁷⁸ These Hills are a continuation of Muin pah[ar,] being separated from it by the Mroo-seik-kiaung only, at the head of which the two hills unite. Farther South we have the river Ma-yu opening with two mouths; the မယုခုံ Ma-yu-kung,¹⁷⁹ and the မယုဝါး Ma-yu-wah.¹⁸⁰ Kung signifies a channel dry at low Water, and Wah the principal mouth of a River. The Ma-yu passes a hill named Meing-ngu-taung မိည့်ငူတာင် :¹⁸¹ and on going up this river towards the North, the traveller has on his right, first a

¹⁶⁹ *Shin-pyu-kyun* (Burmese). Possibly the island of Joliapara in the mouth of the Naf river.

¹⁷⁰ *Ngat-wa* (Burmese).

¹⁷¹ *Wa-pyu* (Burmese).

¹⁷² *Hkin* (Burmese).

¹⁷³ *Na-hkaun-tou* (Burmese).

¹⁷⁴ *Nan-tha-kyun* (Burmese).

¹⁷⁵ *U-hkya* (Burmese).

¹⁷⁶ *Myo-thit-hkyaun* (Burmese).

¹⁷⁷ *Has-sha-la* (Burmese).

¹⁷⁸ *Ma-yu-taun* (Burmese). The Mayu Taung dan, a ridge between the Naf and Mayu rivers.

¹⁷⁹ *Ma-yu-hkun* (Burmese).

¹⁸⁰ *Ma-yu-wa* (Burmese).

¹⁸¹ *Mein-ngu-taun* (Burmese) = Maunggyihtaung on the Ma-yu river?

district named မုစ Mu-za¹⁸² and then another named ဂသိတာင် Ra-se daung.¹⁸³ Above this the river divides into two branches: one coming from the North and named ငကျီတာင် Nga-Kieing-dauk,¹⁸⁴ and the other coming from the North, and named စည်တင် Zeing-dang.¹⁸⁵ It must be observed that Aung-ghio-se either has mistaken Nga-Kieing-dauk for Zeing-dang, or else the course of the former is short, and Zeing-dang at its upper part becomes contiguous to the Ma-yu hills, which there Aung-ghio-se calls Krein-dan. Between the two mouths of the Ma-yu river is an island named ကျွေရည်တာင် Kiua-reing-taung.¹⁸⁶ This from its name would appear to be high, and is perhaps that in our Charts named St. Martin's Island.¹⁸⁷ South from the Ma-yu is the great entrance into the River of Arakan named အင်ပက်ဝါး Ang-bak-wah,¹⁸⁸ having on the right a district named မိငု Me-ngu,¹⁸⁹ and on the left စစ်တွဲကျွန်း Zeet-tua-kuin,¹⁹⁰ on which island is a stone held in great reverence by the Mohammedans, who call it Badermakan.¹⁹¹ The principal Channel of the Arakan river runs winding towards the East, till it comes to the City or Fort of Ra-kain: it then turns south, and passes Da-lak, and San-dua. From the former strikes off the road to Ava by Zayn-byu-giun,¹⁹² and from the latter the Road to Pye-myoo or Pro[m]e. On the way up to Arakan there is on the left a hill, with a great Temple named ဝူရစ်တာင် Oo-reet-taung.¹⁹³ East from this is a small Creek ဝူရစ်

¹⁸² *Mu-za* (Burmese).

¹⁸³ *Ya-thi-taung* (Burmese), Rathedaung, north of Sittwe (Akyab).

¹⁸⁴ Sic; *Nga-kyun-tauk* (Burmese).

¹⁸⁵ *Sein-din* (Burmese).

¹⁸⁶ *Kywa-yein-taun* (Burmese).

¹⁸⁷ St. Martin's Island (Bengali name Jinjira) lies near the mouth of the Naf river, more to the north.

¹⁸⁸ *In-pek-wa* (Burmese).

¹⁸⁹ *Mi-ngu* (Burmese).

¹⁹⁰ *Sit-twa-kyun* (Burmese).

¹⁹¹ Various shrines, known as Badr Mokam and devoted to the Muslim saint Pir Badr (or Badr Shah), can be found along the coast line down to Arakan. The cult of Pir Badr, which dates back to the 14th century, continues to be popular among Muslims in Chittagong and Arakan. See Qanungo, *A History of Chittagong*.

¹⁹² Shinbyugyun on the Irrawaddy river opposite Mount Popa, Upper Burma.

¹⁹³ *U-yit-taun* (Burmese).

တာင်လင်ပက် Oo-reet-taung-lein-beik,¹⁹⁴ which goes to join the Ma-yu. Farther East a considerable river falls into the Arakan Channel. It comes from the hills to the North, inhabited by various rude tribes, and is named ဆဒ္ဒိ Tsa-wu-de.¹⁹⁵ Between Tsa-wu-de and Zeing-dang is a range of hills running North and South and called စည်တင်တာင် Zeing-dang-taung. In the Angle between Tsa-wu-de and the Arakan Channel is a district named ကုလပုံ Ku-la-boung;¹⁹⁶ and opposite to it, on the right side of the Arakan Channel, is another district named ဟင်္ဂရိုရ် Hang-ga-ro.¹⁹⁷ Tsa-wu-de runs up on the West side of ပွားခေါင်တာင် Po-kaung taung,¹⁹⁸ the great mountains which separate Ava from Arakan, and which cannot be seen from the Naaf.

Puran says, that in one day soon after the conquest of Arakan the Burmas put 40,000 Men to Death: that wherever they found a pretty Woman, they took her after killing the husband; and the young Girls they took without giving any consideration to their parents, and thus deprived these poor people of the property by which in Eastern India the aged most commonly support their infirmities. Puran seems to be terribly afraid, that the Government of Bengal will be forced to give up to the Burmas all the refugees from Arakan.

15th. April

Very early in the morning we had from the N.W. a great deal of Rain, accompanied by wind and thunder. About Sun rise I set out for Sunouttu. While I was on the road it thundered much, and threatened to rain: little however fell. In the Hills I observed several places where jooms had been cultivated: which may be known by the trees being no larger than copice Wood. In Sunouttu I stopped at a place about two miles lower down than the tank, where I had before taken up my quarters. Here the river was dammed across, in order to procure water for the fields, which are rather high. [N]o cultivation had

¹⁹⁴ *U-yit-taun-lin-pek* (Burmese).

¹⁹⁵ *Sa-u-di* (Burmese) (= Pi river?).

¹⁹⁶ *Ku-la-boun* (Burmese).

¹⁹⁷ *Hin-hko-yo* (Burmese).

¹⁹⁸ *Pwo-hkaun-taun* (Burmese).

commenced. The people said, that they could not begin to plough till the water lies on the Ground some inches deep. In Sunouttu there are annually two Crops of Rice.

In the evening I walked out among the hills, which are on the north Side of the Valley, and which extend all the way to Chooramony and Chanpour. They are every where intersected by narrow level Grounds, which in this neighbourhood are cultivated for Rice. In these levels the water lies deep during the rainy Season, and they also abound in Springs, so that they are admirably adapted for rearing buffalos. On the sides of the Hills the soil is n[ot] very bad, on their Tops it is chiefly a red sand intermixed with a little vegetable mould. The greater part of these hills is covered with useless bushes: but many of them have been cleared, and planted with Jack and Mango Trees, which thrive very well. Some cleared parts of these hills have been enclosed, and the long grass, which grows there naturally, is used for thatch, and for that purpose is much superior to Rice straw, which soon decays, and breeds much Vermin. There can be no doubt, but that the clearing of the whole of these hills would contribute much to render the Country salubrious, and I think there is great room to believe, that it would also answer in an economical view. The greater part of these hills would yield good pasture in the rainy Season, and produce many useful vegetables. In some places Gurgeon, Jarool, and other Timber Trees might be planted, but all underwood, which only shelters destructive Animals, and Vapours prejudicial to health, ought carefully to be removed. I make little doubt, but that the *Trifolium M. Indica* would thrive on these hills, and yield a rich pasture.

On the South East side also of the Valley of Sunouttu are similar small Hills, separated by narrow Rice Grounds, and extending to the Country of Kaung-la-pru.

April 16th.

Early in the morning I set out, and passing on towards the N.E. soon left behind all the little hills, and went on through a fine level Country well cultivated and inhabited, and called Hazary.¹⁹⁹ On the

¹⁹⁹ Country to the north of Chunoti; the name Hazary survives in mouza Hazarbigha, Amirabad union, Satkania upozila, Chittagong district.

North it is bounded by the Sunkar, on the West by the Chooramoony Hills, on the South by that range of low Hills which separates Sunouttu from Hurvung, and on the East by the Hills of Kaung-la-pru. Behind these the branches of the Muinpahar are seen rising to a considerable height. The fields in general are not very low, and four nullahs, that we crossed, carry off the water too readily to admit of Jeels being formed during the rains. These Nullahs run North to the Sunkar, and the two most considerable of them are named the Dulloo, and Gualia. Some few places are rather too high for Rice, and serve for pasture Grounds, and burial places.

After an easy days journey I stopped at a well shaded market place named Chunnuntawari haut.²⁰⁰ Immediately after noon there came a heavy rain from the Eastward, accompanied by much thunder.

17th. April

I set out very early towards the North, and passed through the plain on a road raised like that between the Fenny and Chittigong[.] Both were formed during the Mussulman Government. After travelling some way, and crossing a rivulet named Hangur,²⁰¹ I came to low Hills intermingled with rice Ground like those West from Sunouttu. These Hills appeared to extend all the way East to Muin-pahar. For some way I kept along the West side of the Hills, and came to another rivulet named Ookia, which I crossed at a Village, where reside the cultivators of the Rice Grounds, that are interspersed among the Hills. Here I turned to the East, and passed through among the Hills, which are covered with bushes. The Rice Grounds among them consist of a Soil not so rich as that at Sunouttu, and contain fewer springs and *Jeels*. Having passed these Hills, I came to a level piece of Ground of a very fine Soil. It is called Maliam Jeel,²⁰² and owing to the depth of water during the rainy season is quite uncultivated. An attempt has been made to drain it by digging a Canal: but it has failed, whether from want of a sufficient level, or from want of skill in the undertakers, I had no opportunity of

²⁰⁰ Near Satkania.

²⁰¹ Hangor river, a tributary of the Shongu river.

²⁰² Mahaliar jhil? Mahalia is a mouza in Bajalia union.

determining. The exte[nt] of ground is considerable, and if drained would be valuable. In some parts of Bengal a kind of Rice is said to grow in Jeels of a considerable depth, but with this kind the natives here seem to be unacquainted. After passing the Jeel, at present quite dry, I entered a well cultivated Country named Hazalea,²⁰³ lying on the south bank of the Sunkar; and stopped at a market place made by Kaung-la-pru for the convenience of his people, who here exchange their Commodities for those of the Bengalese. A Mussulman attends here, and procures all the luxuries of Bengal, that are wanted by the Chief. This place is twelve Ghurries journey distant from Companys haut, and not six, as I was before informed.

In walking out on the plain behind the market place, I found in some fields the Rice far advanced, and which the people said, would be ripe in May. During the season they expect to have two other Crops of Rice, a fertility which is owing to their being able to lay the fields under water, by damming up a rivulet.

The Hills to the Eastward appear to me to be a continuation of the ridge, of which Weella taung forms a part.²⁰⁴ They go by various names, and by Mr. Rennell are called Mug mountains. The highest Visible from Bazalea is also seen from Chittigong, and is there called Doochillia moora. The Western face of these Hills is at least half cleared by the joom cultivation, which makes a much more conspicuous figure here, than it does to the South.

The Report, I get here from the Mussulmans, concerning the Sunkar is as follows.

The Northern Side is inhabited by Mohammedans as far as Duacherry, where the Judge has a Guard. From thence a Boat takes from Morning to Noon to reach Peincherra,²⁰⁵ on the left, where a Joomea *Ruasa* resides. In as much time a Boat can go from Peincherra to Gorau,²⁰⁶ a rivulet entering from the South. From thence in one day a Boat can go up to Noaputtun cherra. At these places there are no inhabitants, but they are frequented by the people who cut Bamboos and Timber. The Bamboos are about 18 Cubits²⁰⁷

²⁰³ Sic. This should be 'Bazalea'; i.e. Bajalia, on the Shongu (Sankha/'Sunkar') river in Satkania upozila of Chittagong district.

²⁰⁴ Wala taung (1,356 ft; 413 m), the highest mountain in the Wala range.

²⁰⁵ Betchhora, in Tarachha union, Roangchhori upozila, Bandorbon district.

²⁰⁶ Ghorao, in Tarachha union, Roangchhori upozila, Bandorbon district.

²⁰⁷ About 8.2 m.

long, and are brought down in immense floats. About 40 of them are tied firmly together by the thick ends, which are turned towards the fore part of the float. The hinder ends of these being opened, and the fore end of another bundle having been pushed up among the first, the two bindings are secured by a fore and aft lashing; and then another and another bundle is added, till a Chain of sufficient length has been formed. Parallel to the first a second Chain is constructed in a similar manner, and the two chains are connected by Cross lashings at each bundle. Close to my tent is a float of this kind at least a hundred yards in length. Three hundred of these Bamboos are here valued at only one Rupee.

The River Sunkar at Bazalia seems to be about 100 yards wide and has hardly any motion but that of the tide which does not go up much farther. The water, although dirty, is perfectly fresh. On account of large stones in the river Boats can go up no farther than Noaputtun cherra.

The Koongky, or Lingta as they are called by the Bengalese, are subject to Kaungla-pru. The Bonjoogies are independent and have no communication with the people of this place. It is said that from Arakan they get Salt, and some other commodities. Several of them however are said to live with a Joomea Chief named Agunnea. He depends neither on Kaung-la-pru, nor Taub-boka, and dwells on the banks of the Barwany,²⁰⁸ which runs down from the hills between the Sunkar and Currumfullee Rivers.

About noon we had much rain and thunder.

18th. April

At night there were strong Squalls of wind with some rain. Early in the morning I set out on a Visit to Kaung-la-pru, who from a corrupted pronunciation of his titles is by the Bengalese called Poang-gri. The road led nearly North East, and soon brought me into a Country interspersed with low hills like that in the neighbourhood of Sunouttu. The soil of the Hills is tolerably good, and covered with large Trees. The low grounds near Bazalea are cultivated by the Bengalese. Farther on they are either underwood, or have been

²⁰⁸ In Potiya upozila.

cleared for Jooms. Three or four miles from the market place I came to a rapid stream, swollen by the late rains, and named Sualuk. Having for a little way proceeded up the Channel of this, I came to the residence of the Joomea Chief, which is on the East side of the rivulet. I pitched my tent on the opposite bank, on a small level, where I found many empty Huts. These had been occupied by the people, who had lately come from all parts of Kaung-la-prus territory to celebrate the marriage of one of his Sons.

Soon after my arrival I was visited by Kaung-la-pru, who is a stout little man with strong Burma features, and seems to be about fifty years of age. He came in a palankeen with many attendants, who appear to be in easy circumstances. He was very obliging, and to satisfy my curiosity promised to send for Koongkies and Tiperah, and to procure for me some plants that I wanted.

He said that the proper name of the Joomeas is မာရမာ *Mā-rā-ma*,²⁰⁹ and that they have resided in this Country from time immemorial. That Lang-ga is the name by which the Ma-ra-mas distinguish the Koongkies. That the Sak are the same people with those, who in the Northern parts of the province are called Sakmas, or Chakmas. That the Mroung and Tiperah dress in the same manner, and speak Dialects of the same language, having to each other as great an affinity as the Burmas and the Rakain have. That the Bonjoogies are by the Rakain and the Joomeas named Bon-zu. That they have no communication with this place, but some little Trade with Arakan. These Bonzu make their salt out of Bamboo ashes, and manufacture a little Cloth, and Earthen ware. They have Muskets, Swords, and other Arms, and are subject to a Chief named Ta-kang, in the same manner as Kaung-la-pru is named Po-mang. I fact both words are titles Analogous to our term Prince; and are the Rakain pronunciation of သာဓုဇ်²¹⁰ and မဇ်²¹¹, the Burma titles for the Sons of their King, and bestowed also upon Officers of high rank. They inhabit the Hills between the Currumfullee and Sunkar, and on the banks of two streams, one of which falls into each of the rivers. They are a very numerous people, and much addicted to plunder. Their Hills they fortify by cutting Trees, and supporting them

²⁰⁹ *Ma-ya-ma* (Burmese).

²¹⁰ *Tha-hkyin* (Burmese).

²¹¹ *Min* (Burmese).

standing in such a manner as that, when the Hill is attac[k]ed, they can let the Trees fall, and crush the Invaders, a device similar to that by which the Gauls are said to have destroyed the army of L. Posthumius, consisting of 25,000 Men, and containing two Legions of Roman Citizens (Livy lib:3, Cap:24). They have a number of slaves, originally prisoners of War: and many Lan-ga have settled among them, and are subject to their Prince.

The Ground for Jooms, according to the report of Kaung-la-pru, can only be cultivated one year after it is cleared, in such a rude System of agriculture the ashes being a necessary manure. The cultivators are therefore obliged to change their abode, as often as all the Ground in their neighbourhood has been exhausted. The Chief, and a Hindoo who seems to be his wise-man, say, that, between the Crops, the Ground requires from fifteen to twenty years rest to enable it to produce wood sufficient, when burned, to manure it properly: but in this I believe these men wish to deceive me. In no other place did I hear more than seven years mentioned, as being requisite for the purpose, and a young man, who in returning from the fields happened to come by himself to the Tent, said, that in this neighbourhood, where the Soil was tolerable, the Woods in three years grew up sufficiently high. Every family clears, and cultivates, as much ground as the number of hands can: and an Ordinary family will in one year raise 100 Baskets of Rice with Cotton, Yams, Arum, tobacco &c in proportion. The men cut down, and burn the Trees: the Women remove small branches, plant the seeds and reap the Crop.

The Sualuk serves here to convey Rice to and from many of the Jooms. When nearly dry the sandy Channel is a Road, and when filled by rain the people transport their Goods on little floats. The Rice is carried in neat cylindrical baskets about three feet in length, and one in diameter, and consequently the contents of a basket is to two bushels as 407 is to 430 nearly.²¹²

The Joomea of Sualuk have in their ornaments a good deal of Silver, and are cleaner, and appear to be more comfortable, than the common Bengalese. They also seem to have the good things of the world in greater abundance than the cultivators of the plains, or at least they are more willing to part with them. Kaung-la-pru made me a present of eatables, in which were Cloves Nutmegs pepper and

²¹² About 69 litres.

asafoetida, things which even at Ramoo I could procure neither for money nor solicitation: and which, both Mussulmans and Hindoos assured me, never entered into the fare of the Bengalese in the Country Parts of this Province: this however I believe was in some measure false. Brandy and Gin, I was told, were for Sale at Sualuck. Kaung-la-pru had lately a great many Gyals,²¹³ but they have all either died, or have been killed at the marriage feast of the Chiefs Son.

During the course of this days conversation the Chief and his wise-man informed me, that what they considered as the Mein-daung gre, or Borah Mein-moora,²¹⁴ is the ridge, which separates the Rivers falling into the Coast of Chittigong from those which fall into the sea on the Coast of Arakan. The Naaf they say rises from the South end of this ridge, which inclines much to the west, as it advances towards the Southern extremity. Different ridges of inferiour Mein run towards the West, from this great Chain, and form the boundaries of the Vallies watered by the Bak cally, the Mamoorree, the Sunkar, and the Currumfullee. It is the Western ends of these inferiour Mein, which form the high chain of hills parallel to the Coast, and visible from the plains of Chittigong. Other rivers proceeding from the Eastern, or rather South-Eastern side of the principal Mein, after passing through Vallies also separated by inferiour branches of the mountain, fall into the Sea of Arakan.

The proper appellation for this Chief is မင်းကောလ်လှ Po-mang Kaung-la Pru.²¹⁵ Po-mang is his title, and signifies Captain. Kaung-la is his proper name; and Pru, which signifies white, is the name of the family. By three Women he has six Sons, and six Daughters: of whom all the Daughters, and three of the Sons, are married. He has about twenty Hindoo Servants, and still more Mohammedans, his Dewan or Minister being of that Religion. The Domestic who takes care of his table is a Rajbunjee. The whole of his Sons married and single live in his house. Besides his numerous family, he has a great number of Ma-ra-ma slaves, that is, persons of the tribe who incur Debt go to him, and say, if you will discharge my Debt, I will become your slave. On the Masters advancing the money,

²¹³ Gayal or mithan (*Bos frontalis*), a large bovine animal.

²¹⁴ Mowdok taung, the ridge separating the Chittagong Hill Tracts from Arakan.

²¹⁵ *Po-min Kaun-hla-pyu* (Burmese).

the slave is obliged to perform his work from Six in the morning till ten in the forenoon, and from four in the afternoon till Sun set. The monthly allowance made to the slave by the Master is one basket of unhusked Rice, which is said to weigh 80 pounds, or one *Maund*, and one piece of course Cotton Cloth. He seldom allows Salt, or any other seasoning. The Master cannot sell the slave; but must give him his liberty, if he be ever able to repay the money originally advanced. The slave may change Masters, if he can find any person, who wishes to advance the price of his head. This manner of treating Debtors is perhaps more rational, than that prescribed by the Law of England: where the Debtor may be confined to perpetual imprisonment, the worst of all Slavery, without the possibility of being of advantage to his Creditor, to himself, or to Society. Among the Eastern Nations however this practice is attended by one abominable circumstance: the Wife is often reduced to slavery for the Debts of her Husband, and the Children for those of their parents. The numerous slaves of this kind belonging to Kaung-la-pru are chiefly employed in agriculture.

In the afternoon I visited Kaung-la-pru, but got very little information, he said, that beyond where goods can be conveyed in Boats, there are in the hills very few inhabitants. From Basalea Boats can go up the Sunkar five days journey: beyond which stones obstruct the passage. The more interior parts of the Country cannot be inhabited for want of Salt, earthen-ware, and Iron. The Bonjoogies, he says, trade with Agunnea. This Chief I take to be the personage I have mentioned under the name of Bunnea: for the pronunciation of the Natives is so indistinct, that it is very difficult to avoid making mistakes. Kaung-la-pru had never heard of such a person as the Seitinja Rajah, mentioned before: but supposed, that the account I received of him, may have arisen from a report concerning the Ma-rama, or Joomea tribe named Zeing-dang-sa.²¹⁶ The tribe derives its name from inhabiting the banks of Zeing-dang-sa river, which from Sualuk lies in a S.E. direction. In the same manner the subjects of Kaung-la-pru are often called Ree-Kree-sa,²¹⁷ or Sons of the sweet

²¹⁶ 'Sons of the Saing-din river' (in northern Arakan). One of numerous kinship groups (*amyo*) among the Marma. The best description can be found in Bernot, *Les paysans arakanais*, 653ff.

²¹⁷ The 'Regretsa' *amyo* has been important ever since because it is the *amyo* of the Marma chief.

water, the appellation by which the Sunkar is known to the Maramas.

The House of the Chief is constructed like those of the other Joomeas, but is much larger than that of Aung-ghio-se. He has Chairs, Carpets, Beds, Mats, and other furniture. The yard is surrounded by a fence made of Posts and Mats, and is dignified with the title of Fort. In the neighbouring Village there are 40 or 50 Houses, and a Kiaung or Convent of Poun-gris. For such a Climate the Houses seemed to be very comfortable: but as the Women avoided us, I could not be minute in my examination without distressing the inhabitants.

19th. April

Early in the morning I walked out among the Hills North from the Village, and on my return visited the Kiaung of the Poungris. It had a plain roof, and was not ornamented like the convents of the Burma Rahans. On the same platform it contained three Apartments. In one of these I found a Pounгри instructing some boys to read and write. One of the youths was a Son of the Chief. In a corner of this apartment were a few small Images, clothed in yellow, but in a posture different from that of the Burma Godama. By the Priest however they were said to be Representations of that Divinity. They were placed on a stage adorned with Silver, and paper Ornaments: and before the stage was placed a high Iron lamp. The Priest was an intelligent kind of man, and had come from Arakan. He said, that in the Convent there was another Poun-gris: and that they were breeding up to their Trade a boy about six years of Age. The boy had assumed the yellow habit, but had not been admitted into the Order of Priesthood. This is contrary to the Burma Custom, and to the precepts of their Kammua²¹⁸, or book of Ordination. This Priest however had some very fine Copies of the Book Kam-mua: but perhaps the Rakain Edition of that book differs from the Burma, as I found, that there existed many differences in the Religious Doctrines of the two people. In one of the apartments of the Kiaung the Priests had slaves, both male and female. These were said to be numerous, and to be procured by advancing money for people, who had fallen into

²¹⁸ Sacred books read at ordination ceremonies into the Buddhist priesthood (= *kamma-wa* in Burmese).

distressed circumstances. The Priests here, I am told, never go out to beg Alms, like those in the Burma Dominions: but sit in their convent, and receive the contributions of the Pious. They employ their slaves to dress their victuals, and to cultivate Jooms. Among these unhappy Creatures belonging to the Priest were three young Girls, who were very desirous of changing their Master[,] whether from the moroseness of his temper, or the levity of their dispositions; I shall not venture to determine.

Among other opinions, which the Burma Rakains would consider as very unsound, this priest believed in Brimmah,²¹⁹ or the Supreme being; and that this author of nature had given a different religion to each of the one hundred and one Nations, with which he had peopled the Earth. The Sect of this Priest believe in the same Moonies, or Gods, that are alleged by the Burmas to have appeared in this World; namely Chaucasam, Gonagom, Gaspa, and Godama: but to these they add a fifth named Mahamoony.²²⁰ They are possessed of the Books said to contain the Doctrine of the two last Gods only, and to them alone they address their prayers, as they have no formula, by which they could supplicate the others. They have books containing an account of Ram, his Wife Seita, and many other of the Hindoo Gods: but like the Burmas they consider these as being still liable to the infirmities of Mortality, and not yet arrived at Nieban,²²¹ or the state of perfect bliss free from change or misfortune. The Pougri compared Godama to himself, and Mahamoony to his young disciple.

After putting a variety of questions to the Priest I found out that the Mroo have some ideas of Religion. They frequently perform sacrifices to various Divinities, killing Goats, Hogs, Cocks, and other animals. The blood is offered to the God, and the Worshipper eats the meat. One of these Gods, he said, is called Kiaung, and presides over the water.²²² In fact Kiaung in the Burma language signifies a small River. He alleged, that the Lang-ga or Koongkies, are more rude than the Mroo, and are entirely ignorant of any religious Ceremony.

²¹⁹ Brahma.

²²⁰ By Sangermano these are rendered as 'Chauchasan, Gonagon, Gaspà and Godama.' J. Jardine (ed.), *The Burmese Empire a Hundred Years Ago, As Described by Father Sangermano* (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Co., 1984 [reprint of 1893, originally 1813]).

²²¹ Nirvana.

²²² This is corrected below, when Buchanan identifies 'Kiaung' with the river *nat* (demi-god) of the Marmas.

Soon after returning to my tent I received a message from the Priest, who wished to know, if I would take him to Europe. I answered, that I could not; but that I would be glad to carry him with me to Luckipour, in order to receive instruction in the Arakan or Burma language; and I requested to know, if he would sell me a Copy of the book Kam-mua. He said, that he could not sell the Book: but that, if ever I lived in Chittigong, and furnished the materials, he would make for me whatever Books I wanted. As he had no inclination to go to Luckipour, he now impudently assumed the merit of gratitude and said, that some time hence he would be happy to live with me: but that at present he was educating a Son of Kaung-la-pru, and could not [lea]ve him, being under the greatest obligations to the Father.

At this season the Ma-ra-ma leave their Villages, and take their families to the Jooms. They are now going, and will reside there six Months, when the Crop having been reaped, they will return to their Chiefs with the produce. The building of a House in the Joom, for the temporary residence of a family, costs one man only a days labour: for the materials are at hand, and the structure is neither large, convenient, nor handsome.

In the forenoon Kaung-la-pru sent me six Lang-ga men and two women. They had entirely Burma countenances, but were very ill favoured, and seemed to be still more rude than the Mroo or Mo-roo-sa. To cover their nakedness they held in their hands small pieces of Cloth, that surrounded their waists: but this, I was told, was on account of their having come among strangers for at home both sexes go absolutely naked. They had a few ornaments of Beads, Tin, and Silver. Their head-man seemed in his way to be an acute sensible person, and spoke a little Bengalese. He said that they cultivated Jooms in the same manner as their neighbours; and had Hogs, Goats, and Poultry. That ever since they have become tributary to the English, by living under Kaung-la-pru, they have enjoyed peace: but that formerly they had Wars with the Bonjoogies, who made many of them slaves. Among themselves they have slaves in the same manner as the Ma-ra-mas. They have no writing, nor Priests: nor could I discover, that they had any belief in a God, nor in a state of future existence. They inter the dead without burning. The Women were ill made with large Bellies, and very coarse features. From the following Vocabulary it will appear, that their language has some affinity to the

Burma: but they did not seem to understand the Ma-ra-ma dialect, a proof perhaps of their not having been long dependent on Kaung-la-pru. They name their own tribe Zou. By the Ma-ra-mas they are named Lang-ga, which by the Bengalese is corrupted into Lingta. By the Bengalese they are commonly called Koongky, which we have corrupted into Kooky, or as it is written in the Asiatic Researches Cuci.

English	Zou	English	Zou	English	Zou
Sun	Nee	Foot	Pe-paw	Eight	Riet-ka
Moon	Hlaw	Bird	O-aw	Nine	Koa-ka
Stars	Ar-see	Fish	Ngaw	Ten	Som-ka
Earth	Toil	Good	Tcha-zaek	Eat	Hae-ro
Water	Tee	Bad	Mee-tcha-lo	Drink	Tac-in ro
Fire	Mei	Great	A-yaen	Sleep	Een-ro
Stone	Loong	Little	A-tom	Walk	Pa-rol-tee
Wind	Hlee	Long	Sei	Sit	Choo-ro
Rain	Koa	Short	A-toi	Stand	Deeng-ro
Man	Moo	One	Hak-ka	Kill	Haem-ro
Woman	Noo-nau	Two	Pan-nyee-ka	Yes	Too-ta-ka-ne-bro
Child	Ngau	Three	Toom-ka	No	Bou
Head	Loo	Four	Lee-ka	Here	Me-keen
Mouth	Moor	Five	Nga-ka	There	Ma-hou
Arm	Ban	Six	Roop-ka	Above	Chun-chooa
Hand	Koot	Seven	Se-ree-ka	Below	Koen-to-ya
Leg	Pe-rai				

In the afternoon the Lang-ga, induced by curiosity, came, and sat down by my Tent. On entering again with them into conversation, and asking them a great variety of questions, I found that they acknowledged two Gods, a female named Po-vang, and a male named Sang-ro.²²³ The headman did not pretend to know where these Gods reside: but he said, that on certain occasions their old men and Women directed the performance of Sacrifices. These rites were also

²²³ The Chin acknowledge two classes of spirits, *khua(vang)* and *rai*. The former may be identical with Buchanan's 'Po-vang', while 'Sang-ro' may refer to Tsang rai, a major spirit who 'causes pains in the ribs and backache.' H.C.N. Stevenson, *The Economics of the Central Chin Tribes* (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1968 [1943]); F.K. Lehman, *The Structure of Chin Society: A Tribal People of Burma Adapted to a Non-Western Civilization* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963); Spielmann, *Die Bawm-Zo*.

vowed by those who were in apprehension of a bad crop, or of danger from sickness. The sacrifice is performed by killing fowls, Goats, Swine, and the like: the blood is offered to the Deity, and the flesh serves for a feast. The Lang-ga takes an Oath by holding up between his hands some Cotton and Rice, and wishing that Po-vang and Sang-ro may destroy him, and his property, if he does not speak truth. These people bury their dead. I have not been able to discover, that they have any Idea of a future state. They take one wife only. When a young man and Woman like each other, the lover makes a present to the parents of the Girl, and the marriage is celebrated with dancing and feasting[:] but is not accompanied by any religious Ceremony. Gyals, and all kinds of provisions, are collected for the marriage feast, which lasts for eight or nine days. The Arms of the Lang-ga consist of a Shield, and spear with a head at each end. With these they venture to attack the Tiger. The bowls of their Tobacco pipes are made of wood, and like their Shields, are blackened, and varnished with the milky juice of a Tree, called by them Vombal, by the Ma-ra-mas Krei, and by the Bengalese of this province Belua. This name is in other parts of Bengal given to the *Semecarpus* of Koenig, but the two trees are quite different. Not having yet seen the flower, I cannot determine the Genus of this varnish tree: but from the appearance of the young plants, that I have brought to the Botanical Garden, it may probably be a *Bhus*. I have little doubt, but that it is the same with the Varnish tree, the juice of which is used by the Burmas and Siammese in their lacquered Ware. The Juice of the Belua is very acrid, and the Maramas are so much afraid of it, that they carefully avoid touching the Plant. They brought a branch and some unripe fruit in a cleft stick, and would have persuaded me not to let it remain on my table, alleging that even its vapour would cause a persons skin to break out into sores. This precaution is needless: for I saw the Lang-ga handle the plant freely: they avoided only to allow the milky juice to touch their skins. One of them, who had been climbing a tree to procure the juice, had on his hands, Arms, Legs, and Body, large black marks containing some excoriated places. The Juice is collected from the twigs cut across in the joint of a Bamboo, and will keep for a long time.

While these Lang-ga remained Kang-la-pru²²⁴ sent to my tent

²²⁴ Sic.

three men of the Mroo tribe. They appeared to be less rude than the Lang-ga, and like their Countrymen, I had before seen, were very stout men. They use the same Arms as the Lang-ga, and also varnish their Shields with the juice of the Belua. I now found out, that the difficulty, which had occurred in discovering the Religion of these rude people arose from my being obliged in my questions to use terms appropriate to the Hindoo, Rakain, or Mohammedan Doctrines. On similar occasions, to those which actuate the Lang-ga, the Mroo perform similar sacrifices to a male divinity named Sing-nam. They know of no other God: and are not yet far enough advanced to have framed for him an extensive circle of attributes. They burn the Dead, and so far as I could learn, have no belief in a future state. In their Oaths they invoke Sing-nam with the same Ceremonies, by which the Lang-ga call on their Gods. The marriage Ceremonies also are similar to those of the Lang-ga: but one man takes several Wives. Their slaves are on the same footing with those of the Maramas.

I find, that when the Poun-gri spoke of the sacrifices offered to the Kiaung, he alluded to the Ma-ra-mas, who heretically worship the Nat²²⁵ of the rivers and mountains, exactly in the same manner as the Lang-ga and Mroo do their Gods. Ever since I have been here, the Drum, which accompanies all the stages of the Ceremony, has never ceased. The person, who has made the Vow, or whose wishes to render propitious to him the Nat of Sualuk, hires a Drummer, goes down to the side of the stream, dances for some time with all his might, and then Kills the animal pouring forth its blood to the hungry Deity. The flesh is then dressed to the sound of the Drum, and carried home to a feast, which also is accompanied by that noisy instrument.

In the evening I was visited by the Rua-sa of Peincherra,²²⁶ who had come with his tribute. His residence is on the South end of the Seita moora, one days journey from Sualuk. Boats, he says, can go up two days journey farther: but there are on the banks of the Sunkar no inhabitants beyond those, who live under his Government. The Bonjoogies live on the Banks of a rivulet which he calls Kain-sa Kiaung. A man who lives at Sualuk says, that from thence boats can go up the Sunkar five days journey: but that for the three last days

²²⁵ Nat (Burmese), supernatural being, demi-god.

²²⁶ I.e. Betchhora, in Tarachha union, Roangchhori upozila, Banderbon district.

they meet with no inhabitants.

The soil of the Jooms here is exactly like that in Mascally. A poor sandy soil will by no means answer for that kind of cultivation. Among the Hills are a few small Vallies, which no doubt might be cultivated for rice in the usual manner: but of these the extent is inconsiderable. Wherever the declivity of the Hills is so moderate, as to admit the use of the plough, I have no doubt, but that the cultivation by a rotation of Crops with manure would be found to answer remarkably well. Where the Hills are very steep, the Joom cultivation, although extremely rude, has two advantages: it does not require the trouble of digging: and from the soil not being turned up, and from its being secured by the roots of Trees, it is not liable to be washed away by the rains. But these two advantages are trifling, when put in opposition to the waste of land in the Jooms, and the unsettled situation of their cultivators. Where the Hills are too steep for regular cultivation, I am persuaded, they would be most profitably employed for pasture.

20th. April

I returned early to Kaung-la-prus market, where I found a Koongky man and three women. They were much better dressed, and better looking, than those I yesterday saw. The looks of the Women were lively and healthy, from their having even white teeth, and their eyes free from the suffusion of bile so common among the Bengalese. They had no clothing except a bit of Cloth round their waist. It did not reach so far down as the Knee, and was not fixed on, but only secured in its place by the hand. Beads seem to be the favorite ornament of these people, who were provided with numerous strings of them made of Amber, Coral, and Green and white Glass. The Amber, unless they have mines of it in their own Country, would perhaps show, that they have a communication with the Burmas: the interiour parts of whose dominions produce in great plenty that curious substance. The Koongkies, or Lang-ga, like the Ma-ra-mas, tie their hair in a knot on the nape of the neck. They seemed to be a good natured people, and full of curiosity: but none of them spoke the Bengalese, or the Ma-ra-ma language, so as to be able to give me any information.

From the Sunkar I intended to have proceeded to visit Agunnea, a

Joomea or Ma-ra-ma Chief, who is said to live between the Sunkar and Chittigong Rivers, and to have with him many of the Bonjoogies: but understanding that the road was not passable in a Palankeen, I sent a messenger to him with a letter, requesting him to send some of these people to my next days quarters, and promising to reward them for their trouble. Kaung-la-pru did not send the Tiperah or Deinea Moroong, which he promised to get for me; although I understood, that they had come to his house for the purpose. I am informed, that he is very rich, and is frequently applied to by the neighbouring Zemeendars, who borrow his money at the interest of $1/2$ anna²²⁷ per Rupee a month. The agreement generally contains a penalty of doubling the Capital, if it be not paid up within three months. Similar usurious practices were probably common in England, when the present form of Bonds was invented.

In the evening I crossed the Sunkar, and took up my quarters opposite to Kaung-la-prus haut. In the native pronunciation of this River's name the final [R²²⁸] is not observable.

21st. April

Early in the morning I set out, and travelled on to the North and West, having to the right low Hills, which at times came down to the bank of the Sunkar, and forced me to cross them, while in other places they were at a considerable distance, with fine Rice Fields between them and the River. From these Hills several small streams run into the Sunkar, of which the most remarkable is that called Saluddea Nullah. On Crossing this, and coming near Dohazary,²²⁹ I was surprised to meet with an Agent of the Zemeendar, who pressed me much to visit his house, a mark of hospita[l]ity, which from a Bengalese I never before had received. I of course began to entertain a high opinion of the man, when on my arrival at Goolea Cherraka

²²⁷ Footnote in text:

'one Rupee contains 16 Anas. The Sicca Rupee weighs 180 Grains.' Therefore the interest on the loan was a little over 3 percent a month.

²²⁸ In text: 'K'.

²²⁹ Dohazari, a village on the northern bank of the Shongu, in Potiya upozila, Chittagong district.

Haut I found, that my people, who had been sent on to procure necessities, had been not only refused a supply, but had been threatened with Violence. One of the Zemeendars people had drawn a Sword, but being received with a countenance he did not like, he had retired, and the Zemeendar reflecting on his rashness, in attacking men, who luckily were attended by a Messenger of the Judges, gave the supply. The invitation was intended to appease the indignation, which they supposed I would entertain. The difficulty made by the Natives in furnishing provisions can only be accounted for from their hatred to Europeans, unless we can suppose, that some Gentlemen, or their Servants, take the provisions without paying for them; for the articles wanted are in general in such abundance, that a market for them can with difficulty be procured.

At Goolea Cherra I was met by the messenger I had sent to Agunnea. He said, that having crossed the Sunkar at Duacherry, he went to the Judges Guard placed on that River in order to prevent the incursions of the Bonjoogies. It is distant from Kaung-la-prus house about six Ghurries journey, and the road all the way is very practicable for a palankeen. From thence in four Ghurries he had travelled to the Village of Agunnea, to which also the road is good. This Village is about the Size of that of Kaung-la-pru, and stands on the Banks of a rivulet named the Barwany, which runs past Goolea Cherraka Haut, and falls into the Sunkar. The Chief did not send any of the Bonjoogies, and told my messenger, that they lived more than fifteen days journey from his abode. This I take to be an untruth. The messenger says, that Agunneas residence is one Pahars²³⁰ journey distant from Goolea Cherraka Haut, and that the road is impracticable for a Palankeen. His Report concerning the Road is Diametrically opposite to that, I received at Sualuk. Which is true, I cannot say.

²³⁰ Prohar (Bengali), three hours.

22d. April

Early in the morning I set out, and having travelled through a level Rice Country, cultivated like the other Rice Ground of the Province, I came to Korindea Gaut,²³¹ and ferried over a considerable Creek, into which the tide flows, and which is also named Korindea. It communicates with both the Sunkar and Currumfullee Rivers, and in the rainy Season opens an excellent inland communication for Boats going south from Chittigong. From the Gaut I passed through a very low marshy Country, and came to Budpora or Bootpoora Haut,²³² which is a little spot of Ground, raised, and planted with Burr Trees (*Ficus indica*), where there is held a weekly market. South from Chittigong I have seen nothing belonging to the Bengalese, that deserves the name of a Village, and at the market places there are no Shops.

In the evening I returned to Chittigong by the way of Puttergaut. The road passes through a fine level Country, and is well raised.

From the 23d. till the 26th. of April

I remained at Chittigong, preparing for a Voyage up the Currumfullee River.

April 26th.²³³

In the morning I embarked at Puttergaut, and at 7 oclock got under way with the flood tide. A little above the town is a low island of considerable extent. It is cultivated, and is said to be very fertile, although in the rainy season it is, during the flood, overflowed by very brackish water. The kind of rice, which thrives in such situations, is said to be different from that which grows in fresh water. The level country on both sides of the river is extremely rich, and, after leaving the hills on which the town stands, extends north and south a great

²³¹ Kōrongiri Ghat(?) in Borkol union, Potiya upozila.

²³² Budhpura, a village in Kashiash union, Potiya upozila.

²³³ From this date the manuscript is written in a different hand.

way. At 10 oclock the first low hills called Korillea pahar bore south, and came close down to the south bank of the river, forming two steep cliffs, between which there is the most articulate echo, I have ever heard. Towards the north, at no great distance from the echo, is a small detached hill. Above this on both sides is a level country well cultivated. The river is about 200 yards wide. At half past eleven I came to low hills reaching on the North side to the waters edge. The strata are all horizontal, and in many places are indurated into a soft mouldering stone.

Above this both banks are level. At noon we arrived at a market place on the south side named Rajah gunge. This is a square surrounded by houses, and containing some shops. A little higher up on the opposite side enters a rivulet named Ishamutty,²³⁴ which comes from the North, and passes through a fine level country, bounded by high hills at a considerable distance from Rajah gunge. This rivulet is too small to admit canoes, but 6 ghurries journ[ey] up from its mouth is a residence of Taubboka, chief of the Chakma nation. This is only a temporary abode, where the chief comes to collect the revenues of those parts of Runganea,²³⁵ which still remain his property. The greater part however of that fertile district was seized on by the native officers about the courts of law, during the dispute, which about 14 years ago took place between the Resident at Chittigong and the father of Taubboka: and although Government found their agent to have been in the wrong, yet regular grants of the lands seized having been given to the Bengalese, the Chakma has never been able to obtain the restitution of his property. Beyond the residence of the chief, the banks of the Ishamutty are cultivated as *jooms*. To the south of Rajah gunge are ma[n]ly *jooms* occupying some high hills. From these runs a rivulet named Seeluk,²³⁶ which passing near the village, enters the Currumfullee a considerable way below. The level banks of this rivulet are occupied by Bengalese and form a part of Runganea.

As the boatmen had neglected to lay in rice at Chittigong, I endeavoured to get a suppl[y] at Raja-gunge: but although I staid

²³⁴ Ichhamoti, a tributary of the Kornofuli, flowing past Rangunia.

²³⁵ Rangunia, upozila headquarters on the Kornofuli in eastern Chittagong district. The residence of the Chakma chief was known as Rajanogor.

²³⁶ Silok rivulet in Silok union, Rangunia upozila.

there all night, and was told that there was plenty in the shops, I had very little success. The boatmen had probably trusted to their being allowed to plunder the market; and the shopkeepers afraid of this carefully concealed their stores. On these occasions very little attention is paid to the promises of an European traveller, as he commonly entrusts the settlement of the accounts to a servant, who charges his master double price and quietly pockets the whole of the money.

There was much rain and thunder in the evening.

27 April

I sent people to Fakiers haut,²³⁷ a market place near the mouth of the Ishamutty, to procure rice, directing them to follow me in a canoe. I set out at half past nine o'clock, and came to at half past four in the afternoon, having rowed with the tide seven hours going at about five miles an hour. By summing up however the estimated distances of all the reaches, I make the distance 31 miles only. I had only a pocket compass, which could not give the bearings exact, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the variation: but as even a rough calculation may be of use, I shall from the imperfect means in my power calculate the bearings and distances of the most remarkable places on my route.

About eleven o'clock, having till then been passing through a fine level country, the boats came to low hills. Immediat[e]ly adjoining to these, on the north side of the river, was formerly a market: but it of late has been deserted, owing to the establishment of Fakir haut, and Rajah gunge. Such changes are very common in Bengal, where markets are frequently held where there are no houses; and where the people for protection very much depend on the caprice, or influence of the proprietor of the market. By the windings of the river I make the first of these low hills to be distant from Rajah gunge $7\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and in a direct line N.83°E. 6 miles and a half. Beyond these hills no Bengalese are settled as cultivators. Here I had a view of the western face of the first range of mountains running from the Currumfullee to the Sunkar, and called Seeta moora. They seem to be about 500 feet

²³⁷ Probably in Padua union, Rangunia upozila.

in perpendicular height, and many *jooms* are cultivated on their declivity. Above this the river takes a large sweep towards the North, in order to reach an opening in this range of mounta[ins]. That part of the ridge, which lies north from the Currumfullee, is called Ram pahar. At the foot of the southern hill, on its eastern side, a rock shelves into the river, and is called Seetaka gaut, a place greatly venerated among the natives.²³⁸ Here the Hindoos make offerings of grain flowers and eggs to the Gods of the place, Ram and Seeta: They are imitated by the foolish Mohammedans of this province, who have adapted some fable to almost every place esteemed holy by the Gentoos:²³⁹ probably thinking, that it would be disgraceful for their religion, were it not provided with as many ceremonies, and holy places, as that of their neighbours. Seetaka gaut, by the windings of the river, I reckon to be $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the first ent[r]ance among the hills, and in a direct line N.46°E.4.3 miles.

Soon after passing these sacred hills, we came to a few huts placed on the south bank, inhabited by Chakmas, and said to belong to a *chokey*²⁴⁰ or custom house, where Taubboka collects some duties on cotton. Above this the river winds very much, and the concave sid[e]s of the reaches have low banks, while on the opposite side low hills come down to the waters edge. The soil seems in general to be good, and is placed on a foundation of rock consisting, as is usual in this province, of thin horizontal strata slightly concreted from the common soil. The hills in many places are cleared for *jooms*, and on the levels there are small Chakma villages, which in general are surrounded by many plantain trees. The country however deserves a much better cultivation, and would no doubt produce cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, and other valuable plants, as well as the hilly islands of the West Indies.

The Currumfullee river after passing Seetaka gaut is about 100 yards wide, and of considerable depth: its water fresh: but muddy. I in general adopt the orthography of Mr. Rennell; but the natives seemed to me to pronounce the name Curnafoolee.

About half past two o'clock we were opposite to the mouth of a

²³⁸ Sitarghat. This is now Chitmaram, an important place of pilgrimage. Chitmaram is a union under Kaptai upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

²³⁹ Hindus.

²⁴⁰ *Chouki* (Bengali), toll-booth.

rivulet named Kaptai²⁴¹ coming from the hills at a considerable distance to the southward. By the course of the river, I reckon the mouth of this rivulet to be distant from Seetaka gaut 9.6 miles, and to bear S.53°E. distance 7 1/5 Miles. I use geographical miles in this calculation, having been used to judge of distances by water in that manner. Canoes can go up the Kepty [sic] to a village named Kamsey. About three years ago a large band of Bonjoogies are said to have penetrated through these hills, and descending by this rivulet, to have committed great devastation on the Bengalese of Runganea.

In the evening we stopped at Raing-ghiaung-bak,²⁴² a small Chakma village on our right. We here found about a dozen houses, of which the inhabitants a few months ago had come here to clear a *joom*; and in this spot they intended to remain four or five years. The houses, like those of all the nations east from Bengal, are raised on posts: but they are not so large as those of the Moroong and Joomeas, and contain only one apartment. The people seemed to have an abundance of poultry and hogs, and near their houses had planted capsicum, ginger, and plantains. I here found a man, who was dressed in a yellow habit: but he said, that he was not a priest, and that his assuming the dress was only temporary. He was reading a book in the Bengalese character, and on inquiry I found, that the men, except a few words, understood no other language. They say that they are the same with the Sak of Roang or Arakan: that originally they came from that country; and that on account of their having lost their native language, and not having properly acquired the Bengalese, they are commonly called in ridicule Doobadse.²⁴³ They call themselves Saksa, which word corrupted has, I suppose, given rise to their Bengalese name Sagma or Chakma. From the few words of their native language, which they retain, it is evidently a dialect of the Burma, nearly the same with that of Arakan. Their religion is that of Godama, corrupted by their having adopted many Braminical superstitions, and especially bloody sacrifices to the Devtas.²⁴⁴ It is with astonishment that I perceive the latest English writers ignorant of

²⁴¹ Kaptai, a tributary of the Kornofuli.

²⁴² Rainkhyong-bak, a village near the mouth of the Rainkhyong (Renikhyong, Raing-ghiaung) river in Kaptai upozila, Rangamati district.

²⁴³ *Dubhashi* (Bengali), speaking two languages.

²⁴⁴ *Debota* (Bengali), gods.

these rites being practiced among the Hindoos. It might readily be imagined, that bookmakers in England could have no difficulty in meeting with an intelligent person, who has been at Calcutta; and every such person knows, that there the Goddess Kalee is the chief object of worship: that she is daily besmeared with the blood of victims, and that suspicions have often been entertained of human blood having[] been employed. As this last circumstance has never been proven, I hope it is not true: but of the sacrifices of buffalos and goats there can be no doubt. The worshippers being allowed to eat the meat of the sacrifices, which otherwise is forbidden, seems indeed to me to be the chief reason, why this goddess is such a favourite. At Seetaka gaut the Chakmas worship a spirit named Taung-mang, or Prince of the Mountains. The men have adopted the dress of the Bengalese, and the women the ornaments of the Hindoo females; but the sex still cut, and dye their clothes, after the Burma fashion. Like the Joomeas and Moroong, they eat every thing; and have no objection to eat with the individuals of these nations: but they do not intermarry. Their principal men have slaves: but these are chiefly Tiperah, it not being among them lawful to have a Chakma in that debased situation.

The Chakmas at present are in great want of rain, and afraid of a scanty crop. The soil all around the village, both in the small vallies and on the hills, is excellent. By the course of the river I reckon this place to be distant from the mouth of the Kaptai nearly eight miles, and to bear N.4°W., distant 5.4 Miles.

28th. April

About 8 oclock, the canoe with provisions having come up, and the strength of the tide being over, at nine we proceeded up the river. Till near two oclock we had the stream against us, and we got on at about the rate of two miles an hour: afterwards, I imagine, we went twice as much. The direct distance however made to day must have been very small, owing to the many windings of the river, which during the first part of this days journey I found to be wonderfully crooked, low hills turning its course in every direction. These hills are of a fine soil, and on the banks jooms, and small Chakma villages, are common.

Soon after we left our last nights quarters, we came to the mouth

of [R]aing-ghiaung,²⁴⁵ a small rivulet coming far from the south-east. About six ghurries distance up from its mouth lives a Chakma of some note, whose name is Alychan lascar,²⁴⁶ and to whom several of the neighbouring villages are subject. Six days journey up this rivulet brings the traveller to the hills inhabited by the Bonjoogies. This agrees with the information I got on the 18th at Sualuk.

At 55 m. past 10 o'clock we pas[sed] a small rivulet coming from the eastward, and named Doolea cherra. Another named Tara cherra we came to at 15 m. past Noon. At one o'clock the banks of the river became level, with a fine soil, which, with the greatest prospect of success, might be cultivated for rice in the common manner. At present both banks are high above the water: but it is said that in the rainy season the river swells to nearly the level of the plain. These plains have little wood, but are chiefly covered with long grass, which is cut by the Bengalese, and carried to Chittigong for thatch. Here the villages are not so thick as among the hills, the plain not being well adapted for the *joom* cultivation. At the villages we passed were some small flocks of buffalos and bullocks. At 40 m. after two o'clock we passed a small rivulet named Kooburea cherra, which is said to come from a large *jeel* or lake, that extends to the foot of Ram pahar, and at all seasons contains water. At the mouth of this rivulet is a considerable village. A little above Doolea cherra the river takes a sudden bend to the westward. Following the course of the river, I reckon this bend to be four miles from Raing-ghiaung-bak, and to bear N.34°E. distance 3.2 miles. From this bend to Manik cherra I reckon the course of the river to be 11 3/4 Miles, and the bearing N.47°W. distance 7.3 Miles. Manik cherra is a small rivulet coming from the N.W. Immediat[e]ly below its mouth is a detached hill of some length, on which formerly resided Koonaka, chief Dewan to the Rajah, and a man of importance, much beloved both by the Chakmas and Bengalese. During the dispute, that took place between the Resident at Chittigong and the Chakmas, an attempt had been made by these poor people to fortify this hill, and to stop the passage of boats by a palisade erected in the river: but the attempts were miserable, and the place soon yielded to the military force sent from

²⁴⁵ 'Kaing-ghiaung.'

²⁴⁶ Alikhyong? Now the name of a mouza and union under Bandorbon district. *Loshkor* (Bengali), soldier; sailor.

Chittigong.

A little higher up is the mouth of a small rivulet coming from a large *jeel* on the right. Both rivulet and *jeel* are called Mugban,²⁴⁷ and the *jeel* is said at all seasons to contain water. This lake and the one at Kooburea are said to contain immense quantities of fish, and to be a common resort for large herds of wild elephants. The fishing is entirely neglected by the Chakmas, who are supplied even with river fish by the Bengalese. A few fishing boats manned by these frequent the river, and sell the produce of their labour at the different villages, as they pass along. Although the vicinity of these lakes is said to be at present extremely unhealthy, yet were the ground cleared, and cultivated, the neighbourhood would no doubt become as healthy as the other parts of the province; and this plain would yield a great quantity of fish, grain, and cattle, while the hilly parts might be employed for the cultivation of cotton, coffee, cocoa, indigo, sugar, and perhaps the spices. With proper pains, I am indeed persuaded, that this country might be rendered as productive as any in the world.

Between Manik cherra and Mug-ban I had to the NE a view of some hills called Kunnea.²⁴⁸ They seemed to be about 10 miles distant. At six o'clock in the evening I stopped at the principal residence of Taubboka, which by the Bengalese is commonly called Rajar bary, or the Princes house, and is situated on the right bank of the river, a little above the mouth of a rivulet named Rangamatty.²⁴⁹ From Manik cherra, following the course of the river, I reckon the Princes house to be very near 10 miles, and its bearing N.23°E. distance 5.9 Miles. From the bank of the river here are to be seen the two ridges of high hills, which bound this country on the east and west. Those to the westward extend from SW to W, and appear to be greatly more distant, than I make them by calculating the course I have come. The natives say, that, by a road leading across these hills, it takes from sun-rise till noon to go from hence to the house of Taubboka in Runganea. Between this and these hills live many Koongkies, or Lang-ga who are tributary to the Rajah. The hills to the eastward appear to be considerable more distant from Rangamatty, than those towards the west.

²⁴⁷ In Mogbon union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district.

²⁴⁸ Koindya, in Balukhali union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district.

²⁴⁹ Now the site of Rangamati town.

တာကီလာမင်း Taubbo Ka Mang,²⁵⁰ as the chief of the Saksa is styled in the writings of the priests of his tribe, although said to command a great number of people, seems by no means to live in great affluence. This his principal residence is far from being a large building: yet it contains the whole of his family except a few Bengalese servants who have huts in the neighbourhood. A large square enclosure made of mats, and called a Fort, contains a number of huts raised on posts, like the others of the country. None of them are of great dimensions, like the house of Kaung-la-pru. Two huts are roofed like the common thatched bungalows used by Europeans in Bengal, and are the peculiar dwellings of the Mang, or Prince, and of his brother Zaubboka. The Rajah not being at home, I did not go within the fort, as I found that my looking in at a gate alarmed the women, who began to squall, and were joined by a numerous band of pigs. There is hardly any cultivation in the neighbourhood: but about a *beegah*²⁵¹ of ground has been attempted to be turned up by the plough.

A priest, who assumed the name of Poun-do-gye or Great royal virtue, informed me, that the Chakmas have in general forgot the Roang²⁵² language: but that it is the dialect spoken by the Sak-mee, who still live in Arakan. The books, which this priest has, are written both in the Roang character and dialect. His religion is the same with that of Arakan. He says, that they have two ranks of priests; the Samona and Moishang, the latter of whom are the superiors, and by the Bengalese are called Raulims. In order to distinguish the Sak settled here, from those called Sakmee, who still live in Arakan, the priest calls them Moishang Sak.

Among the attendants of this priest was a Tiperah lad, who informed me, that his nation assumed to themselves the name of Barooksa. His features were entirely the same with those of the Burmas: but from the following vocabulary it will appear, that the languages of the two people have no affinity. As at Duckinseek²⁵³ I afterwards had an opportunity of comparing this vocabulary with the dialect spoken by the Tiperah in that vicinity, I shall add the words in

²⁵⁰ *Tauk-bo-hka-min* (Burmese).

²⁵¹ *Bigha* (Bengali), 0.14 ha or 0.33 acres.

²⁵² Arakanese.

²⁵³ Dokkhin Sik, now Chhagolnaiya upozila, Feni district, Noakhali.

which I found the two differ: but it must be observed, that the differences may have arisen from misapprehension, and not from any real variation between the dial[ec]ts spoken by the Tiperah of the Currumfullee and those of the Fenny.

English	Tiperah of the Currumfullee	Tiperah of the Fenny	English	Tiperah of the Currumfullee	Tiperah of the Fenny
Sun	Sal		Wind	No bar	
Moon	Tal	Han-do-kree	Rain	Ya-tei	Wa-tei
Stars	Han-do-goo-nay		Man	Broo	
Earth	Ha		Woman	Bree	Brui
Water	Tei		Head	Bo-kroo	
Fire	Hor		Mouth	Bo-kook	Kowk
Stone	Ho-loong		Arm	Yauk	Yauk-towk
Hand	Yauk-go-ra		Fish	Aw	
Leg	Ya-tee	Ya-pa-loc	Good	Hamo	
Foot	Ya-pa-lei		Bad	Ham-ya	
Bird	Tauk-sa		Great	Gad-ja	
Little	Goo-rua		Sleep	Ho-gul-day	To-wa-nay
Long	Sa-wo	Ka-low	Walk	Ba-ra-wu[wei?]-na	Oo-kum-fee[ful?]-day
Short	Ba-ra		Sit	A-soo-day	
One	Kai-sha		Stand	Ba-sa-day	
Two	Ko-noi		Kill	Tan-day	
Three	Ko-tam		Yes	Oong-lea	
Four	Bo-roi		No	Ko-rey	
Five	Ba		Here	Pai-dee	
Six	Douk		There	Oo-jan	
Seven	Chec-nee		Above	Tcho-wo	Sa-ka
Eight	See-ko		Below	Has-seeo[suo?]	Kam-ma
Nine	Chec				
Ten	Chec-nee				
Eat	Cha-day				
Drink	Loung-day				

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In their own language the Tiperah can count no farther than ten; when they want to express a greater number, they use the Bengalese.

²⁵⁴ Footnote in text:

'The two columns above this line to be read first.'

The chief of the Bonjoogies, as I am here told, is by the Chakmas called Tai-koup. His subjects are said to be numerous, and to consist of two tribes, the Bon-zu, and Loo-sai. From the head of every family in his dominions Tai-koup receives an annual tribute of one basket of rice, and one piece of cotton cloth.

April 29th.

At Rangamatty the river is about 50 yards wide, and the tide ebbs with a current of about one mile an hour. I set out a little before eight in the morning. About a mile above the chiefs house live the two sons of Roonooka, whom I mentioned as having been a powerful man among the Chakmas. Two or three years ago, in consequence of having been affronted, he retired to Dua-cherry on the Sunkar, and killed himself by poison. His sons are named Chundunka and Ruttunka, and on account of their father are much respected among the people.

At nine oclock we were opposite to the mouth of the Cheemay, or Cheengay river, which is undoubtedly that called Chingree in Mr. Rennells map.²⁵⁵ This by the course of the river from the Rajahs house I make to be 2 1/6 miles and to bear N.23°W, distance 18 miles. The Cheemay is said by the Bengalese to run a great way to the north; and they add, that canoes can ascend it for 6 days journey. One of my people says, that he went up five days journey, and in this space the canoe in which he was had to be twice unloaded and carried past waterfalls. These cascades were of no great height. At that time the banks of the Cheemay were inhabited by Chakmas, and Taubboka resided at the place to which my man went.

At a quarter past ten I came opposite to the mouth of a small rivulet named Kunnea, which comes from the hills of the same name, that I saw yesterday from Manikcherra. These hills are cultivated by the Chakmas, who reside opposite to the mouth of the rivulet in a village also named Kunnea.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Chengri river, a tributary of the Kornofuli flowing through the northern Chittagong Hill Tracts.

²⁵⁶ Koindya mouza, Balukhali union, Rangamati upozila.

Beyond these hills are others more considerable named Bassunta.²⁵⁷ From Manikcherra I must have seen these at the same time with Kunnea. At their foot is a village named after Boosdarka, one of Taubbokas *dewans*. Beyond that a rivulet named Bassunta enters from the eastward. [B]y the course of the river I reckoned Bassunta to be 3 1/3 Miles from Cheemay, and 3 Miles in a direct line N.68°E.

At noon we had on our right a village named Barsaer, and on our left low hills named Bandur goup. We make very little progress against the stream. At 40 m. after noon we had on both sides hills close to the river. That on the right, from a large black rock at its foot, is called Hattia or the Elephant; that on the left is named Chela. As I approached Hattia, the scenery became beautiful; and there it is highly romantic. The strata are almost horizontal, and are thin like schistus. From Bassunta to the end of the reach above Hattia I reckon the distance from the course of the river to be rather more than three miles. and that it is 1.4 miles in a direct line N.10°E.

At two oclock we had passed all the high hills in the vicinity of the Elephant rock. At three we passed a Chakma village called after Soorotka, its *dewan*, and came to the mouth of a small rivulet named Sualung, which comes from the south-east. Canoes can go some way up this rivulet, and its banks are inhabited by the cultivators of *jooms*.

Having come by the course of the river from the turn next the Elephant rock rather more than six miles, at half past four oclock we stop[p]ed at a village opposite to the mouth of the Kazalung river. This last mentioned place I reckon to be from the former in a direct line 3.1 Miles N.42°E. To day I have observed no current in our favour, and the boats have come on but slowly, I imagine not quite two miles in the hour. At Kazalung I found the people extremely curious to see an European, and the news of my arrival having spread, at night many people from a distance had assembled to get a view.

The Chakmas have faces entirely like the Burmas, and are very fair. The men however are fairer than the women, a sign that these last are hardly used. They kept at a distance from me, as the men said owing to their own fears, and not to any aversion the men have to their women being seen. I found; that all the people here spoke Bengalese; and they said, that they understood no other language. The laity read

²⁵⁷ Boshonto, a mouza adjacent to Koindya.

Bengalese books, but the Moshangs or Priests at this village had books in the Ra-Kain language, and character. In proportion to the inhabitants the priests seemed to be very numerous: perhaps owing to the greater part of the laity being at this season absent at their *jooms*. These Moshangs however appear to be not so much respected among the Chakmas, as the Rahans are among the Burmas. This may perhaps be owing to the prevalence of the worship of the Debtas, a superstition, that in spite of the admonitions of their clergy, seems to be much in vogue among the Chakmas. These beings are supposed to dance and sing in the air, and by their manner of doing so, to render their will known to certain women called Deearree. On all occasion, when the Chakmas are strongly influenced by hope or fear, such as in sickness or dearth, they apply to a Deearree, who consults the Debtas, and is informed by him what sacrifice will be acceptable. This sacrifice is vowed, and if the person obtains the object of his wishes, the animal is immolated at the place, where the Deearree says, the Debtas resides. These Deearrees by their influence with the Debtas, and by their skill in drugs, are supposed also to be able to render a *joom* inaccessible to tigers and wild elephants: which, as the natives repose the utmost confidence in this science, is perhaps a sign, that these animals are here not very destructive. The magical power attributed by the Chakmas to their Deearrees has by the silly Bengalese been extended to the whole tribe, and about Luckipour a *mug* is beheld with a mixture of abhorrence and fear, from his eating without the observances of cast, and from his supposed power in the black art. It is to such foolish prejudices, joined to the absurdity of national pride, that we are to attribute much of the unfavorable character given by the people of Hindoostan to their eastern neighbours.

The Chakmas inform me, that the Fenny, the Cheemay, and the Kazalung, all rise from the same hills in the vicinity of Kundal.²⁵⁸ and that the distance between their various sources is very small. Canoes can go up the Kazalung for three days journey. Down this rivulet sometimes come plundering bands of the people called Loo-

²⁵⁸ On Rennell's map, which Buchanan used, Kundal is identical with what is now Poroshuram in northern Feni district, Noakhali. The sources of the three rivers are, however, in the far north of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, near the border with Tripura. The local informants may have referred to Khan Tlang, the mountain near the sources of these rivers.

shee or Loo-sai. The Chakmas pursued on[e] of these parties for eight days, but found none of their houses. They are supposed to live near Kundal.

The soil about this village is excellent, but put to no use by the natives, except that some small spots have been planted with the betel leaf. This is here protected by the Papaya. The *joom* is on the opposite side of the river at the mouth of the Kazalung. The country, as we approached this, like that near Seetaka gaut, has consisted entirely of low hills; and like that also is much better peopled, than the intermediate space which is level, for hills are most favorable to the *joom* cultivation, the only one here practised. This district is exactly like some of the best provision grounds, I have seen in Jamaica: and if cultivated in the same manner would maintain many thousand inhabitants in ease and abundance.

April 30th.

I set out at 15 m. past eight in the morning. About noon I observed the river to be narrower, and all day we have had the stream against us. One of the banks has always been steep, both are high: but the country near the river is not mountainous. At a quarter past one o'clock we were at the lower end of a reach running north, and the hills there had become higher, while Barcal²⁵⁹ mountain appeared over them towards the north-east. The lower part of this reach, by the course of the river, I reckon to be from Kazalung seven miles, and 4.5 miles in a direct line N.36°E. At two o'clock we began to meet with shoals, where there was a difficulty in getting forward the boats. At three we had a heavy squall of wind and rain from the N.E., and we found the river obstructed by the trunks of trees. At seven in the evening we came opposite to two houses, built on the right bank on a point between two rivulets. Here were 14 or 15 Chakmas, who had come from the Rajah's house to cultivate *joom*: and here they were to reside till the crop was over. This temporary kind of residence is named a Kummar.²⁶⁰ Soon after we stopped, a little above these houses, and on the opposite side. Ever since we have come near

²⁵⁹ Barkol mountain (569 m, 1,868 ft) in Barkol upozila.

²⁶⁰ *khamar* (Bengali), here: seasonal farm.

Barcal, the strata have been almost vertical, and have run north and south. They consist of plates like schistus, but from external appearance would seem to be merely indurated clay, with a small admixture of sand. On exposure to the air and rain they crumble into soil, a few hard nodules only for a time retaining their form. The soil of all the hills seems good, and in most places not too steep to prevent cultivation. If the climate would answer, I have no doubt of the soil being favourable for spices. The current of the river is in general about a mile and a half in an hour: but in some places it is more. From the bottom of the reach, to which I brought my last calculation, I reckon the *Kummar* to be five miles by the course of the river, and 2.9 Miles in a direct course N.60° East.

May 1st.

Set out at 40 m. past seven o'clock in the morning, and at half an hour past eight I came to a rapid stream, where the river being confined by a ledge of rocks is not above ten yards wide. We afterwards passed some other small rapids, and at about a quarter past ten were stopped at the foot of Barcal hill by a ledge of rocks, which runs entirely across the channel, and prevents all farther progress except in canoes. Here were two other *Kummars*, to which Chakmas had come in order to cultivate the western face of Barcal. I now went ashore, and walked up about a mile to a higher ledge of rocks, over which the river falls in various beautiful cascades about six feet high. This is opposite to the middle ridge of Barcal hills, and even now the scenery is very beautiful. When the river is much swollen, and all the small cascades united, it must be very grand, as the channel here is very wide, and there are evident traces of its being often completely filled. When I visited the fall, the river was beautifully clear, and full of fish. As I was much heated by my walk, I got into a canoe with two men, and attempted to shoot down the rapid streams among the rocks, when from a backward management the head of the canoe struck against a large stone, and her stern swinging round against another, she immediately upset, and threw me into the middle of the stream to the great consternation of my people, who not knowing that I could swim, were afraid of being punished, should they return without me.

This hill Barcal is evidently a part of that chain, which Mr. Rennell calls Mug Mountains, a term of the most indefinite nature. Interrupted in its course by several rivers, which pass through from the east to the sea, it runs nearly south to Weella taung, and terminates at the forks of the Naaf river. By the course of the river I reckon the waterfall to be 3½ Miles from the *Kummar*, to which I brought my last calculation, and three miles in a direct line N.87° E. On the whole from Seitaga to the waterfall at Barcal I make the course of the river with all its windings to be about eighty miles, and the direct distance N.37° E to be thirty two miles. Barcal mountains do not seem higher above the level of the river than the western chain called Ram and Seitaga moora: and the two ridges, as they advance to the southward, evidently join. The valley between them extends above 30 Miles in width on the banks of the Currumfullee; and its extent, on the banks of the rivulets falling into this river, is more considerable. Its soil is extremely fertile, and diversified with little hills and plains: and, besides a river navigable for boats of considerable burthen winding through it for eighty miles, it contains many branches of this river navigable in canoes to no small distance. The whole is the property of Taubboka, who has also considerable possessions on the west side of Ram and Seitaga moora. It is almost in a state of nature, and were proper cultivation introduced, its value and population might be greatly increased: but this is chiefly the object of Taubboka, whose rent is fixed, and without injustice could not be raised by the Company. As a subject of the Company he is however entitled to their assistance, in protecting him from the savage tribes by whom he is surrounded: but he has not yet recovered from the fear, occasioned by the attack made on him by the former chief at Chittigong, and wishing to live retired from the eyes of government, is willing rather to submit to temporary depredations, than by his complaints to attract notice.

A Moorman, who serves me as a guide, says, that he has three times been up the Currumfullee beyond Barcal: once to kill elephants for their teeth, and twice to cut bamboos. During the four cold months this is a common occupation among the Bengalese. They carry small canoes past the waterfalls, and in these transport their provisions. In the distance the guide went there are three waterfalls: the first named Ootanchetry is two days journey from Barcal; the second named Herrinaka duar, or Deers door, is one days journey farther; the third is called Hattiaka moo, or the elephants mouth, and

a day and a half's journey above Herrinaka duar.²⁶¹ At Hattiaka Moo is a ridge of hills as high as those at Barcal. Beyond this the guide went half a day's journey, and from some of the reaches could see the great Muin moora, which I take to be the north end of the ridge of hills by the Burmas called Ma-you taung, and visible from the Naaf. This great Muin moora the guide estimates to be twice the distance from Barcal, that Barcal is from Seita gaut: but, although on the whole I find him an accurate man in most things, yet in distances he is apt to magnify. So far as he went, the river receives no considerable branch: but the largest is at Hattiaka moo. Between the falls the current is very gentle, and the body of water at Hattiaka moo is as considerable as at Barcal. The course of the river winds much, nor does the guide pretend to know its general direction. Without a compass indeed any conjecture would be entirely fallacious. Except those at Hattiaka moo, there are no considerable hills: but there are large jeels covered with water in the rainy season, and dry at present. In these jeels are immense herds of wild elephants. The Bengalese in their canoes frequently go to a very high waterfall at the foot of the great Muin moora, and if they use great diligence, can reach that from Barcal in eight days. Beyond that there is no navigation, and the country is inhabited by Bonjoogies and Koongkies, who live under a common prince by the guide named Tai-biak. Between Barcal and the Muin moora there are no inhabitants. At Barcal the strata are thicker, than they are below, and consist of small sand firmly united, and forming a stone, that perhaps would answer for building.

May 2d.

Early in the night we had much rain, which has swelled the river considerably. At 20 m. past seven in the morning we set out on our return, and half an hour afterwards passed the *Kummar*, that is situated between the two rivulets. In an hour more we had got to the bottom of the reach, to which I made the calculation of distance to the *Kummar*. Below this the river is all deep water. Here we stopped

²⁶¹ Horiner duar (Deer's Door) and Hatir mukh (Elephant's mouth). Boro and Chhoto Horina are two mouzas in Bhushanchhora union under Barkol upozila, Rangamati district.

for about a quarter of an hour. At 40 m. after ten we were opposite to the mouth of the Kazalung. We took 50 minutes to go from thence to the Sualung, the river there being less rapid than higher up. At 25 minutes after noon we stopped a little above the elephant rock, on account of a heavy squall of rain. At 10 minutes past one set out again, and in an hour came to the mouth of the Bassunta rivulet, where we stopped for the night.

The intelligence I there got from the Chakmas is as follows. In going up the Currumfullee from Barcal, after half a day's journey, the traveller comes to the mouth of a rivulet entering from the right, and named Eimnea or Bonjoogy. Six ghurries journey above that is a ledge of rocks named Doctorban. None of them seem to have gone farther than Ootanchetry. Taikoup, the Bonjoogy Rajah, they say, lives on the banks of a rivulet named Taishang.

The Chakmas say, that the Kazalung is very large, and that my boat, which draws a cubi[t] and a half water, could go up one day's journey. Canoes can go up farther: but the Chakmas are a[ff]raid of the Koongkies, who if an opportunity offered, would put them to death. These Koongkies are in various places called also Loo-sai, Loo-she, and Lang-ga or Linkta.²⁶²

²⁶² The following passage is annexed on a separate sheet, with a note that it may be inserted in place of the original text in the manuscript up to 'The banks of the rivulet far up are inhabited by Koongkies':

'and inhabit the banks of several streams falling into the Kazalung. In their country are large jeels, which are very full of fish, altho the hot season dries up all their water, except that contained in a few deep pools.

Many streams fall also into the Cheemay, which is navigable for canoes to a considerable distance: and according to the report of the Chakmas of Bassuntah arises from the hills of Kundal near the sources of the Fenny and Kazalung. Five years ago the Rajah frequently lived at Dangata, a place far up the Cheemay: but from thence he has been forced to retire by the Koongkies, and the Chakmas do not now venture farther up than Kanda cherra, half a day's journey from the Currumfullee. Two *dewans* named Petan and Seram reside there, and manage the affairs of their prince. The title *Dewan* among these people, I am told, is analogous to that of *Talookdar* among the Bengalese.

The hills near Kundal, from whence the three rivers arise, are, I am told, the residence of a people called Lang-mang, who are constantly at war with the Koongkies. They are said to sleep on trees like baboons, and to have no rice; but to live on Kanzun or Kangnee, which is the grain of the *Panicum italicum*.

The Sualung rivulet comes directly from the south, and its channel serves as a road, by which the Chakmas penetrate a considerable way into the country. Raing-ghiaung is

In going up the Kazalung the traveller passes the mouths of the many rivulets, of which the banks are inhabited by Loo-sai.

1 day Sheesuk²⁶³ entering on the left.

½ day Mioony²⁶⁴

1 day Gungaram.....right.

10 or 12 ghurries Toishang entering on the left.

In this part of the country are large jeels, which are very full of fish, although the hot season dries up all the water, except that contained in few deep pools.

In going up the Cheemay, Singay, Chingay, or Chingree, you come to the following rivulets:

½ day	Kandacherra ²⁶⁵	left;
1 pahar	Kaoosgurra	right;
½ day	Gooycherra	left;
6 ghurries	Taimarung	left;
1 pahar 10 ghurries	Karik Khung	right;
7 ghurries	Khoondycherra	left;
1 pahar	Dungata	right;
10 ghurries	Kabootkia	right;
6 ghurries	Mahakaroong	left;
5 ghurries	Nanakaroong	left;
1 pahar	Polee	left;
6 ghurries	Eencha cherra	right;
1½ pahar	Toisakma	left;
1 ghurry	Karik Khung 2d	right;
4 ghurries	Bascherra	left.

larger, its lower parts being navigable, and passing through a country inhabited by Chakmas. It comes from the country inhabited by Koongkies lying to the Eastward.'

²⁶³ Shilashchori? (Nannerchor upozila, Rangamati district).

²⁶⁴ Mayani river flowing through Khagrachori district and joining the Kassalong at Mayanimukh mouza, Longodu upozila, Rangamati district.

²⁶⁵ The following may be identified:

Taimarung: Taimidang (Bondukbhanga union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district);

Mahakaroong: Mahaprum (Burighat union, Rangamati upozila);

Nanakaroong: Nanakorum (ibidem);

Toisakma: Toichakma (Sabekhyong union, Rangamati upozila);

Bascherra: Betchhori/ Betchari (ibidem).

It is difficult to say what credit is due to these reports of the natives. Memory is fallacious; and many persons for the sake of gain will pretend to be well acquainted with a route, which they have perhaps not more than once travelled. The order in which these rivulets fall into the Cheemay, I believe, may be received as tolerably accurate; as different people agreed on this head, and repeated them twice in the same succession. The distances, and direction of the rivulets, are not so well ascertained. Five years ago the Rajah frequently lived at Dungata: but on account of the Koongkies, or Loosai, he and all his people have deserted the place: and no Chakmas are now settled beyond Kanda cherra, where there are two Dewans, named Petan and Seram. This term *Dewan*, I am told, is analogous to the *Talookdar* of the Bengalese. Canoes can go up to the mouth of the Bascherra.

The Chakmas of this place have heard, that the Fenny, Cheemay, and Kazalung, all rise from the same hills near Kundal. These hills are the residence of a people constantly at war with the Koongkies, and called Langmang. Th[e]y are said to sleep on trees like baboons, and to have no rice: but to eat a kind of grain called Kangun, which I believe is the *Panicum italicum*.

In going up the Sualung travellers cannot use a canoe. They go on foot, the channel serving as a road.

In one day they come to Basherra entering on the left.

1 day Kangracherra left;

1 day Pancherra²⁶⁶ left;

1 day Doocherra where the Sualung is formed by the union of two small streams. Its course in general is due south.

The Chakmas her[e] say, that canoes cannot go any distance up the Bassunta, or Manik rivulets. That Mug-ban *jeel* is not wider than the river at this place, that is from 50 to 100 yards wide. Its length they do not know. From the river it is distant one pahar and a half's journey. They say, that there is no *jeel* at Kooburea cherra. According to their account Raing-ghiaung comes from the eastward, and during the rainy season is navigable upward, in small boats, for two days journey. The first day brings the traveller to a Chakma village. The banks of the rivulet far up are inhabited by Koongkies.

This village at the mouth of the Bassunta is pretty large,

²⁶⁶ In Juraichchori upozila, Rangamati district.

contain[ing] above 50 houses, and is extremely populous. It is one of the fixed residences of the Chakmas, under the administration of a *Dewan*. In the season for cultivation the greater part of its inhabitants go out to the *Kummars*, for the sake of being near their *jooms*. There is however immediat[e]ly contiguous to the village as much fine gently-sloping land, as, if cultivated like the provision grounds of Jamaica, would abundantly feed the inhabitants. Of this few spots only are cultivated for plantains, ginger, betel-leaf, sugar-cane, indigo, tobacco, and capsicum, all of which seem to thrive well. The houses, like those of the other Chakmas, consist of oblong stages, each about 40 feet, by twenty, and raised on bamboos about 12 feet from the ground. On one end of a stage is erected a shed with a pent roof. Its walls are of bamboo mats, and its roof is thatched. The ascent to the stage is very bad, being merely a notched stick, which is drawn up, when the family wishes to avoid intrusion. On the whole the lodging is more comfortable, and healthy, than the common huts of the Bengalese. Among the Chakmas however I observe very few old people, owing, I suppose, to the unhealthiness of the climate, occasioned by the unventilated woods, and uncultivated swamps. Small canoes can go up the Bassunta one days journey. The rivulet seems to wind along the foot of the hills, which are east from Hattia. The Chakma villages derive their names from the *Dewan*, under whose authority they are, and must therefore frequently change their appellation.

3d. May

At ten minutes past seven we set out against the tide, which is observable as far up as the mouth of the Kazalung: but there seems to be little current upwards, the tide being little more than a stoppage of the stream. In two hours we reached the mouth of the Rangamatty. The ebb now began to favour us, but its current is very gentle. I now learned, that the Mugban *jeel* and rivulet are the remains of an old channel of the Currumfullee. Near it are extensive fields covered with that long grass, which is used at Chittigong for thatch. The Bengalese rent of Taubboka these fields, paying so much a year for each in proportion to its extent. His own people, the Chakmas, do not engage in this bu[s]iness. The Koongkies, who cultivate the east side of Ram pahar, are tributary to Taubboka.

At a quarter of an hour past noon we were opposite to the mouth of Kooburrea cherra. The guide still insists, that it comes from a *jeel*, at which however he confesses he never was. He says that it occupies the space between the low hills at the bottom of Ram pahar, and the hill at the mouth of Manik cherra. I landed at a *joom* opposite to the village below Kooburrea, and ascending the hill, had a tolerable view of the country, but saw hardly any level ground. Low hills running par[a]llel to Ram pahar occupy the space between it, and where I stood. On these hills towards the south-west I observed three extensive *jooms*. South and east from me I saw nothing but low hills. To the east was a narrow valley, down which, I suppose, the Tara cherra flows. I was shown part of Barcal bearing S.E. by S., as the source from whence Raing-ghiaung comes. The *joom* had been planted a few days before my visit, and the rice, cotton, and arums, were beginning to shoot forth promiscuously with great vigour.

On account of the flood tide I was obliged to stop again at a *joom*, a little below Raing-ghiang, and on the opposite side. I there ascended a hill, and found the whole country, in that vicinity also consisted of low steep hills, at their bases quite contiguous, and only separated by deep *ravines*. Of these the general direction is from north to south: but in this there are great irregularities. At this season the banks of the river are so high, that in many places they conceal the low hills from the view of a person in a boat. This *joom* contained between 20 and 30 acres of ground, and belonged to four peasants, of whom each on his portion had built a hut for the accommodation of those, who watched the crop, who kept down the young shoots of the bamboos, and who were to gather in the harvest.

Every Chakma cultivates as much land as he pleases, the revenue of Taubboka not a[r]ising from a land rent, but from a poll tax. Each man pays in proportion to the strength of his family. It is said, that a married pair living without any assistance from children, or servants, pay annually five rupees: and that other families in proportion to their strength pay ten or even fifteen rupees. If the cultivator disposes of the produce of his farm, he pays the tax in money: but, if he chooses, he may pay it in cotton at a fixed price, so that, in case of a bad market, the prince may not have in his power to exact too great a share of the produce. What part of this tax goes to the *Dewan*, for his trouble in collecting it, I did not learn: but I should not suppose it to be great, as in none of the villages, said to be the residence of a

Dewan, did I see any house, that bespoke the proprietor to be wealthy. In respect of riches the *Rua-sas*, who govern villages under *Kaung-la-pru*, seem to be much superiour to the *Dewans*: indeed the whole of his people seem to be more comfortable than the *Chakmas*, except that these have their winter abodes more fixed than those of the *Joomeas*, and of consequence raise in little gardens a number of small but useful things, which the others want. The *Chakmas* also, from their possessing some extensive plains, have a number of cattle, both bullocks and buffalos. At night we got under way with the ebb, and fell down to a village called *Rosa*.

May 4th.

Early in the morning I visited the village and *joom*. The ground here is tolerably level, and the soil so rich, that, I found, part of the *joom* had been cultivated two successive years. The village is small: but the houses are larger, and more wealthy, than any I have seen in the country. I set out with the ebb, and arrived in the forenoon at *Rajah gunge*. From thence the northernmost part of *Ram pahar* visible bore N. by W. This same part of the hill is that, which, so far as I could judge, bears W from *Rangamatty*. On these *data* I make that mountain to run towards the *Curumfullee* S.40°52'E. and as *Seeta moora* run nearly in the same direction, and at its northern end is about 16½ Miles west from *Barcal*, which runs nearly north and south, the two ridges will meet about 19 miles to the southward, near the northern banks of the *Sunkar*.

In the evening I set out with the ebb tide. In this part of the river alligators are so numerous, that the inhabitants are obliged to surround their bathing places with a strong bamboo palisade. The hills which give rise to the *Echo*, are about 6 miles west from *Rajahgunge*, and bound on the west the district named *Runganea*. They are of considerable width, of no great height, and contain several pretty little vallies. All of them at different times have been under the *joom* cultivation, and therefore must be of a good soil. They seem to be an excellent situation for trying the cultivation of spices. At present those near the river are unoccupied, the *jooms* at this time cultivated, although on the same range of hills, being a good way to the south.

About 9 oclock at night arrived at *Puttergaut*, and soon after it

b[l]ew hard, with very heavy rain, and much thunder.

from the 5th. of May till the 8th.

I remained at the town of *Chittigong*, which is very populous, and owing to the cheapness of the materials, bamboos and grass for thatch, is better built than the generality of places in Bengal. It however consists entirely of a number of scattered villages, occupying the narrow vallies, which separate the south end of the low hills running from *Seetacoon* to the *Curumfullee*. The Portuguese, who formerly had a grant of the place from the Kings of Arakan, are still numerous, and have a church: but few of them are in a decent condition of life. It would seem originally to have belonged to the *Tiperah*, who were driven out by a number of Mohammedan adventurers. These again were subdued by the Kings of Arakan, who possessed it, and the southern parts of *Tiperah*, till the accession of the family of *Timour*; and it was wrested from them more by the treachery of a Portuguese adventurer, who had obtained a principality in the Gangetic islands, than by the prowess of the *Hindoostannee* soldiers. *Chittigong* is the residence of a number of English gentlemen, being the seat of a Magistrate, of a Collector, of a Commercial Resident, of a salt Agent, and of a small military force.

The houses of these gentlemen are seated on the tops of the hills, and command a most noble prospect of the fine river, of the mountains to the north, east, and south, and of the fertile plains by which these are separated. The soil of these hills, as is the case with most of those in the province that are near the sea, is very sandy. Their strata are nearly horizontal, and in some places are indurated into bad stone, among the layers of which have been found large masses of petrified timber. The vallies are full of springs: but in general partake much of the sandy nature of the hills, although some of them consist of a very good mould. I think it probable, that the situation might answer for the cultivation of Cinnamon, as a sandy soil full of springs is said to be favorable for that tree. The principal objections to the place are, that it might be difficult to procure a sufficient extent of ground in one valley, and that hurricanes frequently happen, which prove very destructive to plantations of trees. *Chittigong* in official writings is called *Islamabad*, but this name is never used in conversation. The

river is a good harbour, and very good vessels have been built here. It would be very convenient for foreign commerce, were it not pent up in a corner of the Bay, from which a ship, during the S.W. monsoon, could with difficulty work out.

May 9th.

Very early I set out for Cuddum Rusil.²⁶⁷ On my way I visited Jaffierabad, an excellent house in a most elegant situation, with some grounds round it cleared and planted like an English park. Near the house, and between it and Chittigong, are many sloping grounds with a good soil, and some small vallies very well sheltered. Of all the places in the immediate neighbourhood of Chittigong, this seems the most favourable for attempting the cultivation of spices.

Cuddam Rusil, or the Step of the Prophet, is a place much frequented by the devout Mohammedans of this province, who conceive, that an impression of their prophets foot is at the place. As these ignorant people have adopted almost every superstition found among the conquered nations, it is probable, that in this place the Rakains had one of these stones, which among the followers of Godoma are in great veneration, as representing the foot of that personage.

May 10th.

From Cuddam Rusil I returned to Seetacoon, by the way of Bansbarea.²⁶⁸ In consequence of the rains, a considerable part of the fields has already been ploughed, and several places are now covered with young rice.

²⁶⁷ *Kodom rosul* (Bengali), step of the Prophet.

²⁶⁸ Bansbaria, a village in Sitakund upozila, Chittagong district.

May 11th.

Much rain fell at night. In the morning I returned to Meerca serai. In most places the rain water lies deep on the fields.

May 12th.

Towards morning much rain fell. About 6 oclock I left Meerca serai, and having left the road to Luckipour at Jurilgunge,²⁶⁹ proceeded towards Duckinseek. On the way I crossed two pretty large rivulets named Hingoola cherra and Rukta cherra,²⁷⁰ which run into the Fenny from the low hills to the eastward. From Joorilgunge to the Hingoola the ground rises into swells, that are intermixed with narrow levels, which by means of damming up the water are cultivated for rice. The rising grounds are quite uncultivated, and covered with low bushes, yielding a very scanty pasture. As however their soil is tolerably good, and as their declivity is very gentle, I make little doubt, but that they might be cultivated with the plough to great advantage, and yield cotton, maize, and many other useful productions. At any rate the bushes ought to be removed to improve the pasture, which is extremely scarce in the rainy season. This would be a good place for trying the cultivation of the *Trifolium M. indica*.

The Fenny at Duckinseek is of considerable breadth, but the tide goes up only a little way above the ferry. I can here procure no person, who can give me a reasonable account of its course and branches.

All the country in the neighbourhood of Kundal belongs *in capite* to Radun Manic the Rajah of Tiperah.²⁷¹ A person of his tribe informs me, that in the vicinity of the Fenny there are four kinds of people, who cultivate jooms.

- I. The Tiperah or Tripura, as they are here called by the Bengalese, are the chief tribe.

²⁶⁹ In Mirshorai upozila, Chittagong district, near the border with Feni district.

²⁷⁰ Hingulichhori and Roktochhori, tributaries of the Feni river.

²⁷¹ Raja Rajdhar Manikya (ruled 1785-1804). For details, see Nalini Ranjan Roychoudhury, *Tripura Through The Ages: Short History of Tripura From the Earliest Times to 1947 A.D.* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1983).

- II. The Reang, whose language is different from that of the Tiperah, but who are the subjects of Radun Manic. They live near Oodapour,²⁷² upon the banks of the Gomooty²⁷³ and Moory²⁷⁴ rivers.
- III. The Koong-ky or Cuci, who are subjects of a chief named Long-shue, and live on the banks of rivulets that fall into the Currumfullee. This chiefs name seems to be the same with Loo-sai, the appellation which the Chakmas commonly bestow on the Koong-kies.
- IV. The Alynagur,²⁷⁵ whose language is not understood by the Tiperah, live in the north part of Chittigong, and pay a revenue to the collector of that province. They live on the banks of a rivulet falling into the Currumfullee, and named Alta.

There is another Rajah of Tiperah descent, named Pooriseram Baboo, who possesses Bidderabad,²⁷⁶ and some of the neighbouring districts. He lives at Dacca, and has no country, except that cultivated by Bengalese, and paying revenue to the Company.

May 13th.

Early in the morning I proceeded to a market place named after Mahmud Ally,²⁷⁷ who some years ago, before the complete establishment of the British government in these parts, was a robber of great reputation, and power. His name is still kept up by this market, and by a noble tank, which he dug in the neighbourhood, and adorned with religious buildings, as an opiate for his guilty conscience. On the way to this I joined the new road from Meerka serai to

²⁷² Udoypur in southern Tripura.

²⁷³ Gumti, the major river of Tripura, which flows past Comilla and into the Meghna.

²⁷⁴ Muhori river, a tributary of the Feni river, in Tripura and Feni district.

²⁷⁵ I.e. group of people living around Alinogor, in Korerhat union, Mirshorai upozila, Chittagong district.

²⁷⁶ Bidderabad was the name of a pargana between the Feni and Little Feni rivers (now in southern Feni district). Raja Poroshuram may have given his name to Poroshuram upozila, which Buchanan still calls by its old name, Kundal.

²⁷⁷ Muhammad Alir Hat, a village on the road from Chittagong to Dhaka, in Feni upozila, Feni district (cf. Hunter, 324).

Comillah,²⁷⁸ and crossed a very large branch of the Fenny named Moory, on the banks of which salt is made. In some places on this route the ground is unequal, with uncultivated spots interspersed among the rice fields. But in general the country is very low, and not so well cultivated as the plains near Chittigong or Luckipour. The crops however are farther advanced, than those in such places of Chittigong, as are not artificially watered. The cattle are very poor, and here, as well as in Chittigong, the cow is frequently put into the yoke.

May 14th.

At day break I set out for Chaudagong.²⁷⁹ During the night there had been much rain, and on the way we had a heavy shower. The road leads through a level country, very low, and already deeply covered with rain water: but not so well cultivated, as that in the neighbourhood of Luckipour. In this, as well as in many other parts of the country, agriculture seems to be impeded by tanks. Some are certainly necessary to supply the natives with good water; and it is to be wished, that at regular and convenient distances, all through the level country, were dug large good tanks, which at all seasons would contain wholesome water, and yield a dry and comfortable situation on their banks for lodging the cultivators of the land. At present every man, who gets a few *rupees*, wishes to perpetuate his name by digging a tank: but as the funds of individuals are seldom adequate to make a good one, in a few years it turns into a puddle replete with noisome vapours, a common source of disease. The quantity of ground laid waste by tanks is also very considerable, especially in this part of the country, where the earth taken out of a tank is heaped up in a high mound, incapable of cultivation, or of being made a foundation for huts. In the vicinity of Luckipour indeed, where the banks are levelled, and serve to raise cotton and capsicum, the loss is less felt: although there seems to be little economy in using artificial grounds for the cultivation of such crops, while in the Companys dominions there is such an extent of ground naturally fit for producing these plants, and

²⁷⁸ Comilla on the Gumti river, now the headquarters of the district of that name.

²⁷⁹ Chouddogram, the headquarters of Chouddogram upozila, Comilla district.

now lying in a state of nature. I am therefore persuaded, that this custom of digging tanks might be regulated with advantage. However the desire of reputation, which induces the natives to lay out their money on such works, is an honourable principle, and one which ought in all states to be encouraged. Perhaps it might with advantage be directed towards the building of Serais²⁸⁰ for the accommodation of travellers, a thing extremely wanted in Bengal. Or perhaps, by opening a means for perpetuating each mans share in the work, a number of natives might be induc[e]d to join their stocks, so as to be able to dig, and to keep in repair, a tank of sufficient dimensions. If these were dispersed through the country at proper distances, they would no doubt contribute much to the health and convenience of its inhabitants.

The largest tank I saw to day, and indeed the finest I have ever seen, is called the tank of Rajah Gobinna Manic.²⁸¹ It occupies the space between the high road, and the Kundal hills. Immediat[e]ly north from it the road from Comillah to Kundal enters the woods. This was formerly the road from Chittigong to Comillah; but since the route by Mahmud Ally haut has been opened, the bushes have grown up on the old road, and left only a foot path. I here took an opportunity of examining the hills. The whole, as far as I saw, is capable of cultivation by the plough. The soil is sandy especially on the higher parts: but many of the lower places contain a good soil, capable of producing cotton, capsicum, maize, and other vegetables not requiring water. At any rate these hills ought to be cleared, as then they would yield pasture, and give no shelter to ferocious beasts, with which, it is said, they at present abound; although I am inclined to believe, that the danger from these is always much magnified.

May 15th.

At dawn of day I set out for Comillah. In Bengal I have not seen

²⁸⁰ *Shorai* (Bengali), resthouse, inn.

²⁸¹ This probably refers to Gobinda Manikya, Raja of Tripura (1660-61 and about 1667-76), who also built a temple to the god Chandranath in Sitakund. Roychoudhury, *Tripura Through the Ages*, 27-29; S.N. Guha Thakurta, *Tripura* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, India, 1986), 11-12.

any cultivation so bad, as that in the country, through which I have to day passed. I crossed one small range of hills, of which the soil is like that on the road to Kundal. They are very low, and covered with useless bushes. Many other parts of the country, which are covered with long grass, although of an excellent soil, are so high as not to be fit for rice grounds. The low fields are now deeply covered with water: part of them are clear, and part of them in a state of nature, and covered with the long grass of which elephants are so fond. Even in those field that have been cleared, the smallest cultivation for this season has not yet commenced. The people give themselves the trouble of cultivating one crop only of rice, and the country is by no means populous. An old man informed me, that the wild hogs are so numerous and destructive, that they prevented the sowing of the spring crop. I am also informed, that formerly wild elephants were ver[y] destructive: but of late they have been driven away, as no doubt the hogs might easily be. In short I have in Bengal seen no country, that seems to have received more advantages from nature, and less assistance from Art, than that through which I to day passed. The sandy hills would yield most excellent pasture, and the higher grounds sugar, tobacco, cotton, capsicum, and the like; while the inundated parts would doubtless yield two crops of rice, and a winter crop of pulse.

May 16th.

The ground in the immediate neighbourhood of Comillah is very low, and in the same miserable state of cultivation, with that I passed through yesterday. The soil is very good. Tobacco and capsicum are cultivated near the banks of the river, which, as is usual in level countries, are higher than the places remote from the channels. Some sugar is also raised from the low grounds. One crop only of rice is taken, and hardly any winter crop. The rice produced in this part of the country is said not to keep well, and is not therefore fit for exportation. I cannot determine, whether this be owing to the soil, to the seed, or to some circumstance in the drying: but as the rice used for exportation comes chiefly from Bakhurgunge,²⁸² Luckipour, and

²⁸² Bakorgonj, now Borishal and Potuakhali districts.

other places near the sea, we may reasonably conclude, that the soil probably conduces much, and that were the Sunderbunds brought into cultivation, their produce would be valuable. W.S. Harries has tried some of the spice plants in an excellent well raised soil. The cinnamon grows very well. All the nutmeg trees, but one, have died, and that is in a very poor condition. The winter air, I am persuaded, is here too sharp for these delicate vegetables.

I had an intention of penetrating into the hilly country east from Comillah, but the uncommonly early setting in of the rainy season has already made these forests so unhealthy, that the wood-cutters have been obliged to relinquish their occupation. The Tiperah here say, that their people do not extend back among the hills farther than twenty or thirty miles, beyond which they have very little knowle[d]ge. They are on bad terms with the Koong-kies, who live to the eastward. The Rajah of Munnypour²⁸³ is now at Agatulla,²⁸⁴ the residence of his son in law, the Tiperah Rajah. He is supposed to have come on a pilgrimage to Kishinagur on the Ganges,²⁸⁵ and came into Bengal by the way of Silhet.²⁸⁶

May 17th.

I went out about five miles west from Comillah, and examined the north end of the range of low hills, which Mr. Rennell calls Lolmi, but which in their neighbourhood are commonly called Minamutty.²⁸⁷ This range extends about a mile in width from east to west, and about ten in length. The small hills, of which it is composed, are in some measure detached from each other, and their bases are connected by sloping grounds, so that among them little vallies wind in all direction. The soil of the whole is sandy: but in some of the flatter parts there is a considerable mixture of vegetable mould, and in such places cotton, capsicum, and several other plants, might doubtless be cultivated with advantage. The whole is covered with low brush wood, which certainly

²⁸³ Manipur.

²⁸⁴ Agortola, the capital of Tripura.

²⁸⁵ Krishnanagar.

²⁸⁶ Sylhet.

²⁸⁷ Moinamoti is situated on the northern tip of the small Lalmai range.

ought to be removed, in order to improve the pasture, and to take away the shelter for wild beasts. This was formerly the abode of a Rajah, who, at the time of the Mohammedan conquest, was probably the head of all the country east from the Megna,²⁸⁸ and perhaps dependant on Arakan. The remains of the brick buildings, formerly occupied by this prince, extend all over that part of the hills which I examined, and that was about a mile and half in length. At the north end of this space has been a square fort, where the English Gentlemen have erected a *bungalo*. Each side of the Fort seems to have been about two hundred yards in length. The centre is raised high, and in it is a circular cavity, arched with a brick dome open at the summit. I went down into this cavity by a passage entering at its side, and found, that it communicates with several other subterraneous cavities by means of short arched passages. This fort may probably have been the palace, and the subterraneous building may have served for a treasury. About a mile south from this fort are four or five steep hills, composed almost entirely of the remains of buildings, connected and surrounded by ditches, which would point them out to have been fortifications: but without taking a plan of the whole, it would be difficult to f[or]m any idea of the original situation of the place. Two of these hills, from their shape, may be conjectured to have been pyramidal temples, like those so common in the Burma dominions. Concerning those buildings no tradition remains, except that a very old *Fakir*, who died a few years ago, used to say, that he remembered the fort, when he was a boy, to have been inhabited by a Rajah, to whom all the country between the hills and the Megna was subject. It must be observed, that among the present inhabitants of Bengal every Hindoo Zemeendar of the least note is called a Rajah, and every such person by his ryots, and servants, is commonly called Maha-raj, or the Great Prince.

The Rajahs of Tiperah are said to have been in some degree assisting to the Mogul conquerors, when they invaded this part of the country; and having afterwards retired with their own tribe into the hills, to have been able to disturb that haughty race. In consequence of this the dignity of a white umbrella, and very large *zemeen* were bestowed on the family. The present possessor, Radun Manic, is much

²⁸⁸ Meghna river, which forms the western boundary of Noakhali and Comilla (Tipperah).

addicted to drunkenness and superstition, and being completely under the influence of the Bramins, has reduced himself to great pecuniary distress, by alienating much of his *zemeendary* in charity lands, that is to say lands given free of rent to the priests for charitable purposes, and too often by them converted to their own use. As a *zemeendar* the Rajah is amenable to our courts: but within his own country he is absolute, and possesses the uncontro[l]led power of life and death. In this family a singular mode of succession prevails. A nephew always succeeds an uncle. The Doop Rajah,²⁸⁹ a nephew of Radun Manics, is considered as heir apparent, yet his father is still alive, and an older man than the reigning prince.

May 18th.

To day I had a conversation with a Hindoo, the *Dewan* or Minister of the Tiperah Rajah. He says, that there are ten different kinds of Koongkies subject to his master, and among these he names the Loo-shee. If these be the people, who lay waste the dominions of Taubboka, as he is tributary to the Company, it would be but justice in them to use their influence with the Rajah to put a stop to such depredations. He says, that the Tiperah, Reang, and Alynagur, are of the same nation, and speak dialects of the same language. Their different names arise from the places they inhabit. The Alynagur, he says dwell at the head of the Mooree river, which passes Kundal. He knows nothing of the Cheengay, or Kazalung rivers: but says that the branches of the Currumfullee river rise from the south side of those

²⁸⁹ The Juboraj (Yuvaraj), or Heir Apparent, was Durgamoni, son of Lakshman Manikya. The tradition of uncle-nephew succession was by no means as well established as Buchanan was told. Durgamoni had been a claimant for the throne when Krishna Manikya died in 1783 after a reign of 23 years. To avoid civil war between him and Rajdhar Manikya (Buchanan's 'Radun Manic'), the queen, Jahnabi Devi, ruled for two years and involved the British in the succession. The compromise made Rajdhar the king and Durgamoni the heir apparent. After Rajdhar's death his son Ramganga claimed the throne, Durgamoni assembled armed troops, and the British intervened to put Durgamoni on the throne. After his death in 1813 Ramganga received the investiture from the British Government, and Tripura had now passed completely under British rule. The western boundary between the 'Princely State' Tripura and the 'British Indian' district of Tipperah remained undefined till 1854.

hills, that bound the Gomuty valley on the south. The Rajah has also subjects on the Monu river, which falls into the Soorma.

The Dewan informs me that Jeysing, the present Rajah of Munnypour, is an old man, and brought with him three sons and three daughters. The oldest son has remained at home in charge of the government. The direct road leads through Cospour by Banga:²⁹⁰ but the Rajah of Cashar²⁹¹ having killed two messengers, and threatened Jeysing, that prince caused a new road to be cut farther south, and thus got to Silhet. He has 700 people in his train, of whom 300 carried the provisions necessary for the journey. The Rajah travelled on horseback, the road being not passable on elephants. He is very poor, and his people are supported at the expence of the Tiperah Rajah, who has married one of the daughters.²⁹² He is a very rigid Hindoo, and eats nothing, that ever had animal life. His people eat no animal food but fish. They have abundance of rice, cotton, iron, wax, honey, and some ivory. The tribute is paid entirely in kind. The country in all hands is surrounded by Koong-kies, who inhabit a mountainous tract, and are independent.

A Bengalese wood cutter gave me the following account of the Gomut, or rather Gomooty river, and of its navigation upwards from Comillah. February is the most favourable season for the journey, and in the rainy season no wood cutter remain[s] in the forest, on account of the unhealthy nature of the Country.

It is 2½ pahars journey from Comillah to the mouth of the Kazee,²⁹³ a rivulet arising from a large *jeel* named Ladi, which, although dry in the hot season, produces in the rains an immense quantity of fish. The Kazee enters the Gomooty on the left going up, and its banks are inhabited by Koongkies.

²⁹⁰ Bhangra, border village between Sylhet and Cachar.

²⁹¹ Krishnachandra, Raja of Cachar (1780-1813), and married to Indraprabha, daughter of Raja Jai Singh of Manipur. For an introduction to Cachar political history, see J.B. Bhattacharjee, 'Dimasa State Formation in Cachar,' in: Surajit Sinha (ed.), *Tribal Politics and State Systems in Pre-Colonial Eastern and Northeastern India* (Calcutta and New Delhi: K.P. Bagchi, 1987), 177-211.

²⁹² On Raja Jai Singh of Manipur and his relations with Cachar and Assam, see Edward Gait, *A History of Assam* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co, 1905); and Jayanta Bhusan Bhattacharjee, *Cachar under British Rule in North East India* (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1977).

²⁹³ Kasigong in Tripura.

Two pahars journey farther up on the left enters Kaly pany, whose banks are not inhabited.

One pahar and a half more brings the traveller to the mouth of Soondul entering from the right. There are no inhabitants on that rivulet.

At the same distance farther, and from the same side, enter two rivulets named Rany and Kany, of which the last conveys into the Gomooty the water of Hoory *jeel*.

One days journey farther from the right enters a rivulet, named Jamjoory, and coming from a lake called Sooksagor *jeel*. Near this lake are many Bengalese peasants, and a house of Radun Manics called Oodypour, or Oodypura. To the southward of Oodypour are Koongkies.

Two pahars journey above the Jamjoory, on the left, is the mouth of Doopa cherrah, whose banks are inhabited by Koongkies.

Above Doopa one days journey is Marany, where there are no inhabitants.

Still one days journey farther from the left enters Sungang. Its banks are inhabited by Koongkies, and two ghurries journey up from its mouth, it passes through a ridge of mountains named Debta moora.²⁹⁴

Above Sangang half a pahars journey is Gonga cherra on the right. Here there are no inhabitants.

Two pahars journey farther up on the left is Ketey cherra, also uninhabited. To the right is Kyddaka cherra, where the Rajah formerly had a house named Ummerpura.²⁹⁵ At present there are no inhabitants.

Two pahars journey farther up, entering from the left, is Moilak.

One and a half pahars journey farther up, entering from the right, is Peelak.

Two pahars journey farther up entering from the left is Dalak.

Six ghurries farther up entering from the right is Koorma. These four last mentioned rivulets have no inhabitants on their banks.

Above Koorma one pahar and a halfs jorney the Seela gonga enters from the right. There live the Reang Tiperah. Farther the wood cutter has not been, but he has heard of another rivulet named Doombur:

²⁹⁴ Debotar mura, a hill range in Tripura.

²⁹⁵ Omorpur (Amarpur).

beyond which in the hot season many parts of the rivers channel are dry, whilst in others the water stands in deep pools. He knows nothing of the sources of the Fenny or Cheemay.

May 18th.²⁹⁶

I had a long conversation with a priest, who had come from Munnypour along with the Rajah. He agreed with the slaves from thence, whom I saw at Ava, in calling the inhabitants of his native country Moitay.²⁹⁷ He said, that thirty years ago the Burmas first invaded their country, and for eight years continued to lay it waste. At the time of the invasion there was in the country 300.000 horses, and other cattle in proportion. We may judge of the havoc committed, by knowing, that only 3000 of the horses remain. The Burmas are supposed by the priest to have carried away, or destroyed, 300,000 persons of different ages and sexes. The Rajah therefore is now very poor. His country produces elephants, horses, buffalos, and bullocks. He has a few tame elephants. Twelve cows may be bought for a rupee; and as much rice, as a man can use in a year, may be had for the same money. Silver therefore must be very scarce. Wax, honey, and silk, are to be had at Munnypour; the two first in abundance. A little wheat, and pulse, and much rice, and cotton are raised by the Moitay. The sugar cane with them grows to the thickness of a mans leg. In their diet the natives use much *Saag*, or greens. The Moitay have mines of salt, lime-stone, and iron.

The priest said, that this year the Rajahs of the Moitay and Tiperah have cleared a new road from Munnypour to Silhet; by which a man walking can, in fifteen days, go from the one place to the other. It is passable for elephants, horses, and bullocks: but the priest thinks, that loaded cattle could not travel the whole way in less than a month. From the middle of December to the middle of February is the season most favourable for the journey. The following are the different stages on this route.

²⁹⁶ In the manuscript there are two entries with this date.

²⁹⁷ Meithei, the majority group in Manipur.

1 Day from	Silhet to	Banga ²⁹⁸ in the	Companys dominions;
1 do	Banga	Joinangur	Cashar;
1 do	Joinangur	Luckipour	do;
3 do	Luckipour	Durmaka,	a ghaut on the Soorma river,
			to which boats can go from Silhet;
2 do	Durmaka	Mon-taw	A Koongky village;
1 do	Mon-taw	Lum-pai	do; The road
1 do	Lum-pai	Lay-roung-poung	do; between all the
1 do	Lay-roung-poung	Noong-shai	do; Koongky villages
1 do.	Noong-shai	Ka-ruay	do; is very hilly.
1 long day	Ka-ruay	Beesnapour	A Moitay village;
1 day	Beesnapour	Pobaw	do;
1 do	Pobaw	Mong-cham	do;
1 do	Mongcham	Munnypour	Capital of the Moitay.

16 days journey from Silhet to Munnypour.

These Koongkies or Langa, who occupy so much of the country on this route, are subject to one prince, who can raise 8.000 armed men, and who has given the Rajahs of the Moitay and the Tiperah much trouble, while they were making the road. In this he was assisted by the Rajah of Cashar. The Koongky Rajah lives three days journey south from the new road, at a place named Paitoo.²⁹⁹ In his dominions there are no navigable rivers. Besides his own proper subjects, Chundra Sing, the Rajah of Cashar, has in his dominions about 500 Moitay, who fled thither on the Burma invasion. The two languages are different.

The Moitay priest says, that far North the Burrampooter³⁰⁰ divides into two branches: of which one runs into Bengal through Bong³⁰¹ and Assam, the other runs south, and separates the dominions of the

²⁹⁸ The following may be identified:

Banga: Bhanga, border village between Sylhet (Bangladesh) and Cachar, Assam (India);

Joinangur: Joynogor;

Luckipour: Lokkhipur;

Beesnapour: Bishenpur in Manipur;

Munnypour: Manipur (Imphal).

²⁹⁹ It is likely that this term refers not to a place but to the 'Kuki' group known as Paitu, Paiti, or Paite. See H. Kamkhenthang, *The Paite: A Transborder Tribe of India and Burma* (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988).

³⁰⁰ Brahmaputra river.

³⁰¹ Bengmara (present Tinsukia) in northeastern Assam? See below.

Moitay from the Burma empire. This must therefore be the river called by the Burmas Kiayn-diayn.³⁰² The priest gave me the following route from Bengal to this great river.

13 days from Silhet to Beesnapur as in the former route;

1 long day Beesnapour to Kaksing³⁰³ a Moitay village;

1 days journey from Kaksing Tong-gong-pal do;

1 do. Tong-gong-pal Kong-gang do;

1 do. Kong-gang Tum-me-rook do;

1 do. Tummerook Tum-moo a Kapo³⁰⁴ village;

1 do. Tum-moo Ang-ko-sing do;

1 do. Ang-ko-sing to the Burrampooter³⁰⁵

20 days journey from the Burrampooter to Silhet.

The Burrampooter, at the place where this route terminates, is so wide, that an elephant on the opposite side is just visible. The Burmas, when they invaded Munnypour, crossed it on a wooden bridge. The Kapo, I know from the report of the Moitay at Ava, are the same people, that by the Burmas are called Shan. The Burmas sometimes bring large trading boats up the Burrampooter, in order to deal with the Kapo subject to Munnypour: but they prohibit any communication across the country between the Moitay and China, of which the Rajah of Munnypour is very solicitous. Branches of the Burrampooter navigable for canoes extend all through the Moitay dominions.

This priest also informed me, that the people of Assam are by the Moitay called Tay-ko.³⁰⁶ The present Rajah of the Tay-ko is a younger brother of the Rajah of Bong, who lives east from Assam,

³⁰² Chindwin river. Clearly this informant did not know that the Chindwin is not a branch of the Brahmaputra river but has its source close to where the Brahmaputra enters Assam.

³⁰³ The following may be identified:

Kakching and Tengnoupal in Manipur; and Tamu, border village between Manipur and Sagaing province of Burma.

³⁰⁴ This may refer to the Kabui, a Naga-Bodo group of Manipur, although Buchanan identifies 'Kapo' with Shan.

³⁰⁵ I.e. Sitthaung on the Chindwin.

³⁰⁶ The Ahom spoke a Tai language and referred to themselves as 'Tai.' According to Gait, *A History of Assam* (Appendix C), the Manipuris call Assam 'Tekau.'

and receives a tribute from its prince.³⁰⁷ It must be observed, that the word signifying brother among the Bengalese, in which language the priest spoke, is frequently applied to cousins, even of several degrees removed. Thirty years ago a Burma army invaded the Bong dominions, and ever since the Rajah has been tributary to the Burma monarch, whose people occasionally go to the residence of the Bong. Soon after the departure of the Companys troops from Assam (1794) the Rajah retired from his dominions to Munnypour, where he now resides, having left his son behind to manage the affairs of his distracted kingdom. South from Bong is a country named Sam-souk³⁰⁸ tributary to Ava: and south from Sam-souk is a Kapo or Shan city, by the Moitay named Mang-Kang, and by the Burmas Mogaung.³⁰⁹ This, by the report of the Burmas and Shan at Ava, I know to be a city on the west side of the Ayrawade,³¹⁰ nearly opposite to Bammo,³¹¹ the frontier town of the Burmas towards Yunan. This priest could speak a few words of the Burmese language.

The only Rajahs of any consequence, or who possess the dignity of the white umbrell[a], that are between Bengal Ava and China, are those of Tiperah, Gentiah,³¹² Cashar, Assam, Bong, and Munnypour.

³⁰⁷ The Ahom King ('Tay-ko Rajah') at this time was Suklingpha (or Kamalesvar Singh), who ruled from 1795 to 1810. Gait, *A History of Assam*, 417. It is not clear whom Buchanan means with the 'Rajah of Bong'. He may refer to the 'Raja' of Bengmara in the far northeast of Assam. In the confused and rebellious 1790s a number of local powerholders appeared in various parts of the Ahom country. At Bengmara, Raja Sarbananda, who used the Ahom title of Svargadeb, minted his own coins. In 1799 Bharathi Raja led an uprising in Bengmara against the Ahom king, and was killed. In 1805 Raja Sarbananda launched another revolt from Bengmara, with some support from the Burmese king. See Gait, 204, 225, 227; Amalendu Guha, *Medieval and Early Colonial Assam: Society, Polity, Economy* (Calcutta and New Delhi: K.P. Bagchi, 1991), 117-122.

³⁰⁸ 'Samjok' or 'Somjuk' is the Manipuri term for Thaugthut (Thaugdut). This town on the Chindwin was the capital of Thaugthut State, which included Tamu and the surrounding Kabaw valley, separating Manipur from Burma proper. See G.E.R. Grant Brown (comp.), *Burma Gazetteer: Upper Chindwin District, Volume A* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Union of Burma, 1960 [1911]).

³⁰⁹ Mogaung on the Irrawaddy, close to Myitkyina, in Northern Burma.

³¹⁰ Irrawaddy river.

³¹¹ Bhamo.

³¹² Jaintia, which is now part of the state of Meghalaya in India. In this period it was ruled by U Syiem Ram Singh II who held the throne from 1789 (or 1790) to 1832. For an introduction to the Jaintia state, see B. Pakem, 'State Formation in Pre-

May 19th.

Early in the morning I set out for Puttahaut. As a fever had come on me at night, I was not able to make much observation on the country. Between Comillah and Baugmarra,³¹³ from what I saw, I judge it to be in a state nearly similar to that between Chaudagong and Comillah. The cultivation was just beginning, in order to sow the rice, that would be transplanted in the end of July. At seven in the morning I embarked on the Dackitteah river at Baugmarra, and suffered much from my fever and the heat of the day. The road by land owing to the rain had become impassable. About eleven o'clock at night I arrived at Hajygunge,³¹⁴ where the Tannadar procured me fresh boatmen, with whom I proceeded. Europeans are commonly considered as more vigorous than the Bengalese, and perhaps they are so in any great and sudden exertion of strength, especially if it requires to be accompanied with courage, or activity of mind: but I know no Europeans, who undergo such long continued labour with so little rest or nourishment, as the boatmen of Bengal do. Mine had wrought from seven in the morning till eleven at night, without eating: nor was their exertion considered as extraordinary.

20th. May

At day light we were passing through a level country, cultivated like that between Puttahaut and Luckipour. The first crop of rice was well advanced, and the villages were surrounded by groves of betelnut palms. At nine in the morning I got to an empty *bungalo* at Mohabutpour,³¹⁵ to which I retreated in order to avoid the heat. Here I refreshed myself by the cold bath, and having abstained two days from food and drink, the fever left me in the afternoon. This

Colonial Jaintia', in: Surajit Sinha (ed.), *Tribal Polities and State Systems in Pre-Colonial Eastern and Northeastern India* (Calcutta and New Delhi: K.P. Bagchi, 1987), 243-259.

³¹³ Bagmara, in Laksham upozila, Comilla district.

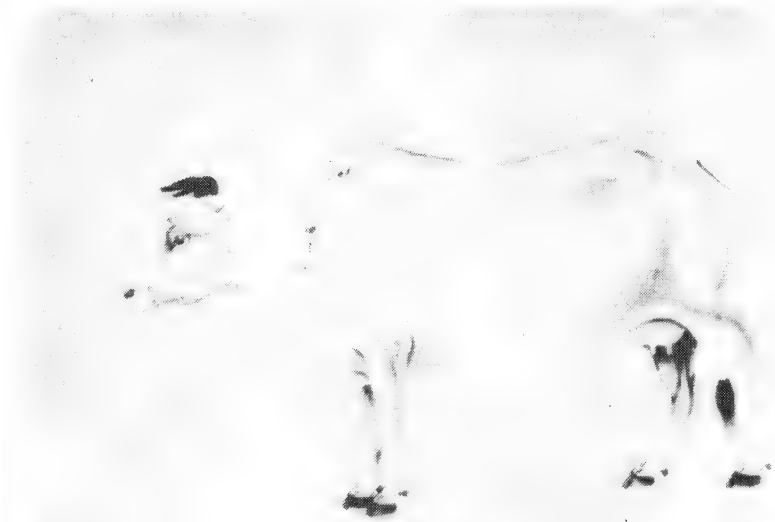
³¹⁴ Hajigonj, headquarters of Hajigonj upozila, Comilla district.

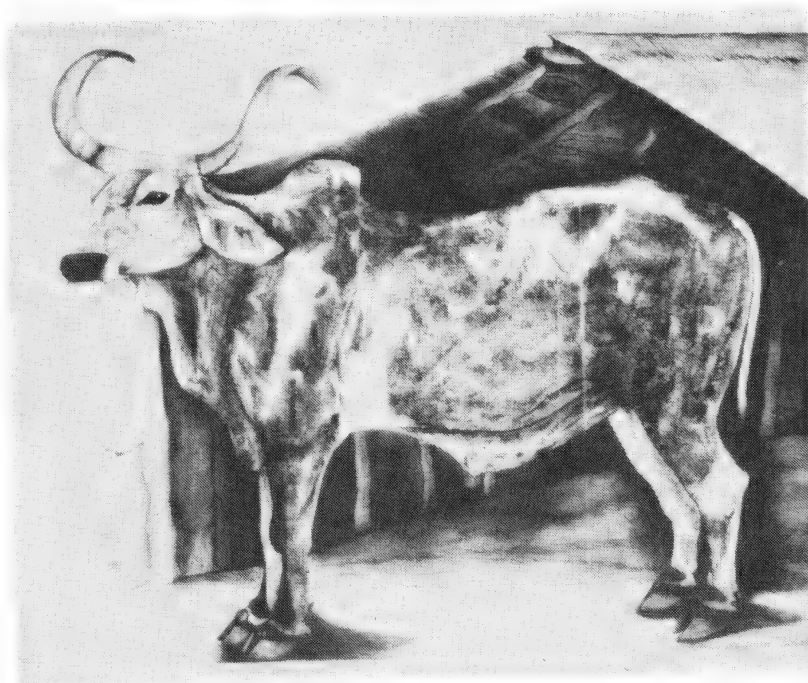
³¹⁵ Mohobbotpur. Then a large village on the Dakatia river. Now probably surviving as Mohobbotpur mouza, Uttor Kalocho union, Hajigonj upozila.

plan of treatment will in general be found effectual, when the fever proceeds merely from being overheated. In the evening I embarked again.

21. May

At seven in the morning I reached Doorgapour, where I landed, and in about half an hour arrived at Puttahaut.





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GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

A. Places, mountains and regions

Included are both Francis Buchanan's spelling and a modern one, if known.

Adeegunge

See: Fokirhat 1.

African Islands

4.

Agatulla

See: Agortola.

Agortola

Capital of Tripura (= Agatulla). 130.

Alikhyong

Mouza and union under Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
(cf: Alychan lascar) 106.

Alinogor

Village in Korerhat union, Mirshorai upozila, Chittagong district (= Alynagur). 126.

Amarapura

Capital of Burma, twin city of Ava. 69.

Amarpur

See: Omorpur.

Ameergong

See: Amirgaon.

Amirgaon

Village and market place near Little Feni river in Southern Noakhali (Rennell: 'Ammangunge'; = Ameergong). 13, 14.

Ang-ko-sing

Village in Sagaing district of Burma, between the Chindwin and the border with Manipur. 137

Arakan

Country to the South of Chittagong (= Arakan (in Bengali), Rakhain (in Arakanese), Reng, Roang, Rohhawn, Rossawn, Rung, Yakhain (in Burmese)). 27, 31, 40-41, 47, 48, 55, 58-60, 65, 69, 76, 78-82, 86-87, 89, 91, 104, 108, 123, 131.

Arakan (city)

See: Mrauk-U.

A-ra-wo-sa

Marma village in the Bagkhali valley to the East of Ramu. 59.

Aree

See: Ava.

Assam

137-139.

Aurungabad

Pargana in Northern Chittagong district, on the left bank of the Feni river. 14, 25.

Ava

Former capital of Burma, twin city of Amarapura. (= Aree in Arakanese). 4, 33, 40, 47, 57, 60, 81-82, 135, 137-138.

Bagmara

Now the headquarters of Bagmara union, Laksam upozila, Comilla district (= Baugmarra). 139

Bajalia

Village on the Shongu river, in Satkania upozila, Chittagong district (= Basalea, Bazalea, Bazalia, 'Hazalea,' Kaung-la-prus haut). 85-86, 90.

Bakhurgunge

See: Bakorgonj.

Bakorgonj

Now Borisal and Potuakhali districts (= Bakhurgunge). 129.

Baminy Island

See: Bamni.

Bammo

See: Bhamo.

Bamni

Island off the South coast of Noakhali, later washed away by the Bamni river (= Baminy Island). 13.

Bandur goup

Hills in Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 111.

Banga

See: Bhanga.

Bansbarea

See: Bansbaria.

Bansbaria

Village in Sitakund upozila, Chittagong district (= Bansbarea). 20, 124.

Barabakund

Now a mouza and union under Sitakund upozila, Chittagong (= Baracoon). 20-22.

Baracoon

See: Barabakund.

Bara Palong

Baro palong (Twelve Palongs), area in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Barra-pallung). 55.

Baratulla

See: Boroitoli.

Barcal

See: Barkol.

Barkol

Mountain (569 m, 1,868 ft) in Barkol upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Barcal). 113-117, 121-122.

Barra-pallung

1. See: Bara Palong.

2. See: Raja Palong.

Barratulla

See: Boroitoli.

Barsaer

Village East of Boshonto. 111.

Basalea

See: Bajalia.

Bassunta

See: Boshonto.

- Batavia
4.
- Baugmarra
See: Bagmara.
- Bazalea, Bazalia
See: Bajalia.
- Beelcherry
See: Bilchhori.
- Beesnapour
See: Bishenpur.
- Bengal
4, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 30, 46, 48, 50, 82, 102, 108, 123, 128-131, 136, 138-139.
- Bengmara
Town in North-Eastern Assam (= Bong?). 136-138.
- Be-su-re
See: Bilchhori.
- Bhamo
Town on the Irrawaddy river in Northern Burma (= Bammo). 138.
- Bhanga
Border village between Sylhet and Cachar (= Banga). 133, 136.
- Bhulua
Main village of a pargana of the same name to the South-East of Lokkipur (= Bulluah, Bullooah). 5, 9.
- Bidderabad
Pargana between the Feni and Little Feni rivers, now in Southern Feni district. 126.
- Bilchhori
Valley in Karaka union, Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Beelcherry, Be-su-re). 72-73, 75, 77.
- Bishenpur
A Meithei village in Manipur (= Beesnapour). 136-137.
- Bombay
4, 49.
- Bong
See: Bengmara.
- Boosdarka
Village in Boshonto mouza (or adjacent Hemonto mouza), named after Chakma dewan Boosdarka. 111.

- Bootpoora Haut
See: Budhpura.
- Borah M..scally
See: Boro Moheshkhali.
- Borah Mein-moora
See: Muranja; Mowdok Taung.
- Boro Moheshkhali
Union under Moheshkhali upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Borah Mascally). 42.
- Boroitoli
Mouza in Harbang union, Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Baratulla, Barratulla). 31-32, 77-78.
- Boshonto
Hills in the mouza of the same name, Balukhali union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Bassunta). 111, 117.
- Budhpura
Village in Khashiaish union, Potiya upozila, Chittagong district (= Bootpoora Haut, Budpora Haut). 100.
- Budpora Haut
See: Budhpura.
- Bullooah, Bulluah
See: Bhulua.
- Burma
8, 60, 131, 137. See also: Ava.
- Cachar
(= Cashar). 133, 136, 138.
- Calcutta
5, 50, 62, 105.
- Cape of Good Hope
4.
- Cashar
See: Cachar.
- Chakaria
Upozila in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Chuckerya, Doodusty Khans haut, Dowdusty Khans haut). 32-35, 59, 65-66, 76, 78.
- Chandpoor
See: Chandpur.

Chandpur

Ferry across the Shongu river in Banskali upozila, Chittagong district (= Chandpoor, Chanpour, Chaundpore). 24, 26, 31, 83.

Chanpour

See: Chandpur.

Chaudagong

See: Chouddogram.

Chaundpore

See: Chandpur.

Chela rock

See: Hattia rock.

Chhagolnaiya

Upozila in Feni district, Noakhali (= Duckinseek, Dokkhin (South) Sik). 108-109, 125

Chhoto Moheshkhali

Village on Chhoto Moheshkhali village, in Gorokghata union, Moheshkhali upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Little Mascally). 48.

Chiamay

See: Chiengmai.

Chieng-mai

Town in Northern Thailand (= Chiamay, Saym-may). 41.

China

4, 137-138.

Chitmaram

Union under Kaptai upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Seetaka gaut, Seita gaut, Sitarghat). 103-105, 113, 115-116.

Chittagong (province)

14-15, 24, 36-37, 48, 51, 52, 53, 59, 76, 80, 89, 126-127.

Chittagong (town)

(= Chittigong, Islamabad). 1, 7, 9, 14, 20, 22-25, 27, 36, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 50, 53, 57, 62, 76, 78, 84-85, 93, 100-101, 106-107, 115, 120, 123-124, 127-128.

Chittigong

See: Chittagong (town).

Choonootey, Choonooty

See: Chunoti.

Chooramoonee, Chooramooney, Chooramoony

See: Churamuni.

Chouddogram

Headquarters of Chouddogram upozila, Comilla district (= Chaudagong). 127, 139.

Chuckerya

See: Chakaria.

Chunnuntawari haut

Near Satkania, headquarters of Satkania upozila, Chittagong district. 84.

Chunoti

Valley, now a union under Satkania upozila in Chittagong district (= Choonootey, Choonooty, Sunouttee, Sunouttu). 29-31, 82-84, 86.

Churamuni

Range of hills in Chittagong district, running South from the Shongu river, now known as the Banskali or Satkania range (= Chooramoonee, Chooramooney, Choora-moony). 24-26, 28, 83-84.

Comilla

Town on the Gumti river, now the headquarters of the district of the same name (= Comillah). 127-130, 133, 139.

Comillah

See: Comilla.

Company's Hat

Company's Market, at or near Satkania in Chittagong district (= Companyshaut, Companys haut). 25, 27, 28, 85.

Companyshaut, Companys haut

See: Company's Hat.

Coromandel

55.

Cospour

Town in Cachar, on the Agortola-Manipur road. 133.

Crooscool, Cruzcool

See: Khurushkul.

Cuddam Rusil, Cuddum Rusil

See: Kodom Rosul.

Cutupdea

See: Kutubdia.

- Dacca
See: Dhaka.
- Da-lak
Place near Mrauk-U. 81.
- Dalalhat, Dalol haut
Now Dalalbazar, a village and union under Lakshmipur district
Noakhali. 5.
- Dangata
Village on the Chengri river in Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Dungata). 117.
- Debotar mura
Hill range in Tripura (= Debta moora). 134.
- Debta moora
See: Debotar mura.
- Dechuar Palong
Mouza in Khunia Palong union under Ramu upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Detchua pallung). 55.
- Deelia pallung
Small area near Dhoa Palong. 58.
- Detchua pallung
See: Dechuar Palong.
- Dhaka
(= Dacca). 50, 62, 126.
- Dhoa Palong
Mouza in Khunia Palong union under Ramu upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Dua pallung). 55, 58.
- Dingorea beel
Uninhabited area North of Taimooringa. 55.
- Doctorban
Rocks in the Kornofuli river near Barkol. 117.
- Dohazari
Village on the North bank of the Shongu river, in Potiya upozila, Chittagong district (= Dohazary). 98.
- Doochillia moora
High mountain in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, visible from Chittagong town. 85.
- Doodusty Khans haut
See: Chakaria.

- Doochazary
Pargana in Chittagong district. 25.
- Doorgapour
See: Durgapur.
- Dowdusty Khans haut
See: Chakaria.
- Duacherry
Place on the Shongu river near the border of Chittagong and Bandorbon districts. 85, 99, 110.
- Dua pallung
See: Dhoa Palong.
- Duckinseek
See: Chhagolnaiya.
- Dulahajari
Union under Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Dulloo hazary, Dulloohazary). 36, 65.
- Dulloo hazary, Dulloohazary.
See: Dulahajari.
- Durgapur
Village on the Dakatia river, near Patahat (= Doorgapour). 140.
- Durmaka ghaut
Village on the Surma river in Cachar. 136.
- Edghur
See: Idgor.
- Edgong
See: Idgaon.
- Edgur
See: Idgor.
- England
6, 90, 98, 105.
- Europe
25, 93.
- Fakerhaut, Fakiers haut, Fakir haut
See: Fokirhat.
- Finland
7.

Fokirhat

1. Probably in Gorokghata union under Moheshkhali upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Adeegunge, Fakerhaut). 42, 43.
2. Probably in Padua union, Rangunia upozila, Chittagong district. 102.

Galloway

4.

Gangetic islands

20, 123.

Gangetic plains

15.

Gentiah

See: Jaintia.

Goolea Cherraka Haut

Market on the Barwany rivulet, a tributary of the Shongu, near Dohazari. 98-99.

Great Britain

13.

Hajalia Palong

Area between Rotna and Raja Palongs (= Huzzalea Pallung). 55-56.

Hajigonj

Village on the Dakatia river. Now headquarters of Hajigonj upozila, Comilla district (= Hajygunge). 139.

Hajygunge

See: Hajigonj.

Haladia Palong

Union under Ukhia upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Hilludea pallung, Hulludea pallung). 55, 58.

Hang-ga-ro

Area in Northern Arakan. 82.

Harbang

Union in Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Harbung, Hurvung). 30, 31, 78-79, 84.

Harbung

See: Harbang.

Hattia rock

'Elephant' rock on the banks of the Kornofuli, just East of Boshonto. 111, 120.

Hazalea

See: Bajalia.

Hazary

Area North of Chunoti, towards Hazarbiga mouza, Amirabad union, Satkania upozila, Chittagong district. 83.

Hilludea pallung

See: Haladia Palong

Hindoostan

See: India.

Hoanak

Union under Moheshkhali upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Wanuc). 47.

Holstein

4.

Hulludea pallung

See: Haladia Palong.

Hurvung

See: Harbang.

Huzzalea pallung

See: Hajalia Palong.

Idgaon

Village and union under Cox's Bazar upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Edgong). 36-37, 39, 63, 67.

Idgor

Union under Ramu upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Edghur, Edgur). 38, 77.

India

(= Hindoostan). 5, 44, 49, 82, 112.

Islamabad

See: Chittagong (town).

Jaffierabad, Jaffirabad

Residence near Chittagong town. 124.

Jaintia

Now the Eastern part of Meghalaya (India) (= Gentiah). 138.

Jalia Palong

At the mouth of the Raju river in Cox's Bazar district (= Jellea pallung). 53, 55.

Jamaica

113, 120.

Jellea pallung

See: Jalia Palong.

Jinjira

(= St. Martin's Island). 81.

Johanna

4.

Joinangur

See: Joynogor.

Joliapara

See: Shang-pru-kiun.

Joogdia, Joogdya

See: Jugdia.

Joorilgunge

See: Jurilgonj.

Joynogor

Place in Cachar (= Joinangur). 136.

Jugdia

Village at the mouth of the Little Feni river, now washed away (= Joogdia, Joogdya). 12-14.

Jurilgonj

Village in Mirshorai upozila, Chittagong district, near the border with Feni district (= Joorilgunge, Jurilgunge). 125.

Kakching

Meithei village in Manipur (= Kaksing). 137.

Kaksing

See: Kakching.

Kaladan

Valley of the Kaladan river in Arakan (= Ku-la-deing). 65.

Kamaurabu

Village on the banks of the Matamuhuri river in Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73, 75.

Kamsey

Village on the banks of the Kaptai rivulet in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. 104.

Ka-ruay village

A Kuki village in the border area between Cachar and Manipur. 136.

Kassalong

Village in Barkol union, Barkol upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kazalung). 111.

Kaung-Hla-Hpru's Hat

Market-place set up by Kaung Hla Hpru at or near Bajalia (= Kaung-la-prus haut). 27, 85, 97-98.

Kazalung

See: Kassalong.

Keokradang

Mountain (2,960 ft; 902 m) on the Southern border between Bandorbon district (Bangladesh) and Arakan (Burma) (= Kreindan?). 72, 74, 81.

Khan Tlang

Mountain peak (682 m, 2,237 ft) on the Northernmost border of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura (= Kundal?). 112-113, 117, 119.

Kharatty

Area West of Raja Palong. 55, 56.

Khoiyer Bil

Mouza in Lokkhyarchor union, Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Koir-beel). 77-78.

Khoondakally

See: Khutakhali.

Khurushkul

Village in Cox's Bazar upozila and district, Chittagong. (= Crooscool, Cruzcool). 40, 50, 52.

Khutakhali

Valley of the Khutakhali river in Chittagong district (= Khoondakally, Khuntakhali). 36, 65.

Kiain-roun-kie

Place in the Burma-Thailand border area. 41.

Kiain-theen

Place in the Burma-Thailand border area. 41.

Kiain-town

Place in the Burma-Thailand border area. 41.

Kishinagur

See: Krishnanagar.

Kiua-reing-taung

Island in the mouth of the Ma-yu river, Buchanan identifies it (mistakenly) with St. Martin's Island. 81.

Kodom Rosul

'Step of the Prophet'; place of pilgrimage for Muslims, North of Chittagong town (= Cuddam Rusil, Cuddum Rusil). 124.

Koindya

1. Hill range in Balukhali union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kunnea hills). 107, 111.
2. Village in Koindya mouza, Balukhali union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kunnea village). 110.

Koir-beel

See: Khoiyer Bil.

Kong-gang

Meithei village in Manipur. 137.

Kootoo pallung

See: Kutu Palong.

Korillea pahar

Range of hills West of Rangunia. 101.

Korindea Gaut

See: Kōrongiri Ghat.

Kōrongiri Ghat

Village in Borkol union, Potiya upozila, Chittagong district (= Korindea Gaut?). 100.

Krein-dan

See: Keokradang.

Krishnanagar

(= Kishinagur). 130.

Ku-la-boung

Area in Northern Arakan. 82.

Ku-la-deing

See: Kaladan.

Kundal

See: 1. Poroshuram; 2. Khan Tlang.

Kunnea

See: Koindya.

Kutubdia

Upozila in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Cutubdea). 47.

Kutu Palong

Area South of Wala Palong (= Kootoo pallung). 55.

Lalmai

Short range of hills in Comilla district (= Lolmi). 130.

Lancashire

4.

Laung-daung-sa

Marma village in the Bagkhali valley to the East of Ramu. 59.

Lay-roung-poung

'Koongky' village in Cachar. 136.

Little Mascally

See: Chhoto Moheshkhali.

Lokkhipur (Lakshmipur)

1. in Buchanan's time a notable port at the mouth of the Meghna river. Now an inland town, the headquarters of Lakshmipur district, Noakhali (= Luckipore, Luckipour). 1, 5, 7-8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 24, 59, 62, 93, 112, 125, 127, 129, 139.
2. town in Cachar (Assam, India) (= Luckipour). 136.

Lolmi

See: Lalmai.

Luckipore, Luckipour

See: Lokkhipur.

Lum-pai

'Koongky' village in Cachar. 136.

Madras

4.

Mahmud Ally haut

See: Muhammad Alir Hat.

Maiscoom

See: Mohishkum.

Mang-Kang

See: Mo-gaung.

Manicpour

See: Manikpur.

Manikpur

Village in Karaka union, Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Manicpour). 33, 34, 65-67, 69, 72, 74-77.

Manipur

1. Country to the East of Cachar;
2. Its capital, Imphal (= Munnypour). 130, 133, 135-138.

Mascal, Mascally

See: Moheshkhali.

Mascally, Little

See: Chhoto Moheshkhali.

Maungyihtaung

See: Meing-ngu-taung.

Ma-yoo taung, Ma-you tang, Ma-yu taung

See: Ma-yu Taung-dan.

Ma-yu Taung-dan

Mountain ridge between the Naf and Ma-yu rivers in Northern Arakan (= Ma-yoo taung, Ma-you tang, Ma-yu taung). 41, 54, 80-81, 116.

Meenday

Coastal village in Southern Noakhali, now washed away by the sea. 10.

Meerca serai, Meerkaserai

See: Mirshorai.

Mein, Mein-daung

See: Muranja.

Mein-daung-gre

See: 1. Muranja; 2. Mowdok Taung.

Meing-ngu-taung

Mountain in Northern Arakan, possibly Maungyihtaung on the Ma-yu river. 80.

Me-ngu

Area near Sittwe (Akyab), Arakan. 81.

Minamutty

See: Moinamoti.

Mirshorai

Upozila in Northern Chittagong (= Meerca serai, Meerkaserai). 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 25, 32, 125-126.

Mo-gaung

Town near Myitkyina, Northern Burma. (in Shan = Mang-Kang). 138.

Mohabutpour

See: Mohobbotpur.

Moheshkhali

Island off the Chittagong coast, now an upozila in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Mascal, Mascally, Muscally). 39, 41-46, 49, 58, 62, 65, 77, 97.

Mohobbotpur

Then a large village on the Dakatia river in pargana Mohabutpour. Now probably surviving as Mohobbotpur mouza, Uttor Kalocho union, Hajigonj upozila, Comilla district (= Mohabutpour). 139, 140.

Mohishkum

Mouza in Fatekharkul union, Ramu upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Maiscoom). 62.

Moinamoti

Archaeological site in Burichong upozila, Comilla district (= Minamutty). 130-131.

Mong-cham

Meithei village in Manipur. 136.

Mon-taw

'Koongky' village in Cachar. 136.

Moony moora, Moony-pahar

See: Muranja.

Mowdok Taung

Mountain ridge dividing the Eastern Chittagong Hill Tracts from Arakan (= Borah Mein-moora, Mein-daung-gre). 89.

Mranga

See: Muranja.

Mrauk-U

Capital of Arakan (= Mrohaung, Ra-Kain, City of Arakan). 41, 54, 69, 81.

Mrohaung

See: Mrauk-U.

Mug Mountains

See: Wala Range.

Muhammad Alir Hat

Village on the road from Chittagong to Dhaka, in Feni upozila, Feni district, Noakhali (= Mahmud Ally haut). 126, 128.

Muin, Muin moora, Muin-pahar

See: Muranja.

Munnypour

See: Manipur.

Muranja

Mountain range in the Western Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Borah Mein-moora, Mein, Mein-daung(-gre), Moony moora, Moony-pahar, Mranga, Muin, Muin moora, Muin-pahar). 25, 28, 34, 39, 54, 57, 65, 68, 76, 80, 84, 89, 116.

Muscally

See: Moheshkhali.

Mu-za

Area along the Ma-yu river, Northern Arakan. 81.

Na-kaung-dó

Island in Arakan, South of the mouth of the Naf river. 80.

Nein-sa-kiun

Island in the Naf river in Arakan, at the confluence of the Ukhia river and Mroo-seik Kiaung. 80.

Ngait-taung

Arakanese name for the range of hills extending from the mouth of the Raju to the mouth of the Naf ('Naf mountains'). 79.

Ngap-pio

Village on the banks of the Matamuhuri river in Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts ('the plantain tree'). 73.

Noakhali

Old Noakhali town, now washed away by the sea (= Nowacally). 10, 12, 13.

Noong-shai

'Koongky' village in Cachar or Manipur. 136.

Nowacally

See: Noakhali.

Omorpur

Place in Southern Tripura (= Amarpur, Ummerpura). 134.

Oodapour, Oodypour, Oodypura

See: Udoypur.

Oo-reet-taung

Important temple in Northern Arakan. 41, 54, 81.

Oorea rua-sas haut

Village in Harbang union in Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong. 79.

Outeah Ghaut

See: Ukhia Ghat.

Pagli Palong

Mouza Paglir Bil in Haladia Palong union, Ukhia upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Pagully pallung). 58.

Paglirbil

Mouza in Dulahajari union under Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Paoli-beel). 36, 65.

Pagully pallung

See: Pagli Palong.

Paitoo

Place between Tripura and Manipur. 136.

Panirchhora

Mouza in Hoanak union, Moheshkhali upozila, Cox's Bazar district (= Pany cherra). 47.

Pany cherra

See: Panirchhora.

Paoli-beel

See: Paglirbil.

Patahat

Then a village on the Dakatia river (pargana Furrookabad), now probably surviving as Char Pata mouza, Raipur Union, Raipur upozilla, Lakshmipur district Noakhali (= Puttahaut). 1, 12, 13, 15, 139-140.

Pathorghata

Ferry across the Kornofuli near Chittagong town (= Puttergaut, Putterghaut). 23, 100, 122.

Patna

7.

Pobaw

Meithei village in Southern Manipur. 136.

Po-kaung taung

Mountain range separating Arakan from Upper Burma. 82.

Pooraspour

See: Surajpur.

Poroshuram

Upozila headquarters in Feni district, Noakhali (= Kundal). 125, 128-129, 132.

Pow-mang A-tsein

Marma village in the Bagkhali valley to the East of Ramu and North of Sa-lu-daung. 59-60.

Prome

Town in Lower Burma (= Pye-myoo). 81.

Puckurea

See: Pukuria.

Pukuria

Village and union under Banskali upozila, Chittagong district (= Puckurea). 26.

Purneah

4.

Puttahaut

See: Patahat.

Putterg(h)aut

See: Pathorghata.

Pye-myoo

See: Prome.

Raing-ghiaung-bak

See: Rainkhyong-bak.

Rainkhyong-bak

Chakma village near the mouth of the Rainkhyong river, Kaptai upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Raing-ghiaung-bak).

Rajagonj

Market village on the Southern bank of the Kornofuli, opposite.

See: Rangunia (= Raja-gunge, Rajah gunge). 101-102, 122.

Raja-gunge, Rajah gunge See: Rajagonj.

Rajah pallung

See: Raja Palong.

Rajanogor

Plains residence of Chakma chief near Rangunia.

Raja Palong

Mouza and union under Ukhia upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Barra-pallung, Rajah pallung). 55-57.

Rajarbari

Principal residence of the Chakma chief, now in Rangamati town (= Rajar bary). 107, 113.

Rajar bary

See: Rajarbari.

Rakain, Ra-kain

See: Arakan; Mrauk-U.

Ramoo

See: Ramu.

Ram pahar

Range of hills in the Western Chittagong Hill Tracts, North of the Kornofuli river. 103, 106, 115, 120-122.

Ramu

Upozila headquarters in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Ramoo). 40, 42, 52, 53, 55-56, 58, 61-63, 66, 79, 89.

Rangamati

See: Rajarbari.

Rangunia

Upozila headquarters on the Kornofuli in Eastern Chittagong district (= Runganea). 101, 104, 107, 122.

Ra-se daung

Area along the Ma-yu river, in Northern Arakan. 81.

Reng, Roang, Rohhawn

See: Arakan.

Rosa

Village in Kaptai upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Rossawn, Rung. 122.

See: Arakan.

Rotna Palong

Union under Ukhia upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Rutna pallung, Rutnapallung). 42, 50, 53-57.

Rumkha Palong

Mouza in Haladia Palong union, Ukhia upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Rungka pallung). 55, 58.

Runganea

See: Rangunia.

Rungka pallung

See: Rumkha Palong.

Rutnakaaga pallung

Eastern part of Rotna Palong. 55.

Rutna pallung

See: Rotna Palong.

St. Martin's Island

See: Jinjira.

Sak taung

Range of hills in Northern Arakan from which the Mroo-seik Kiaung (river) springs, and inhabited by Saks. 54.

Sa-lu-daung

Hill in Northern Arakan, on the bank of the Mroo-seik Kiaung. 60.

Samjok or Sumjok

Manipuri name of Thaungthut on the Chindwin in Burma (= Sam-souk, Thaungdut, Thaungthut). 138.

Sam-souk

See: Samjok.

San-dua

Place near Mrauk-U, Arakan. 81.

Sandwip

Island off Northern Chittagong (= Sundeeep). 13.

Sankhla Buri

Place near the Three Pagoda Pass in Thailand (= Zan-da-pure). 41.

Santasheela

Coastal village in Southern Noakhali, now washed away by the sea. 10.

Saubuck

See: Suabuck.

Saym-may

See: Chieng-mai.

Scotch highlands

4.

Seetacoon

See: Sitakund.

Seetaka gaut

See: Chitmaram.

Seeta moora

See: Sitapahar.

Seita gaut

See: Chitmaram.

Seita Hills, Seita-pahar, Seita moora

See: Sitapahar.

Shang-pru-kiun

'Island of the White Prince' in the mouth of the Naf river, possibly identical with Joliapara island. 80.

Shinbyugyun

Place on the Irrawaddy river opposite Mount Popa, Upper Burma (= Zayn-byu-giun). 81.

Shundorbon

(= Soonderbunds, Sunderbunds). 5, 49, 61, 63, 130.

Siam

41.

Silhet

See: Sylhet.

Sitakund

Upozila headquarters in Chittagong district (= Seetacoon). 17-22, 66, 123-124.

Sitapahar

Range of hills in the Western Chittagong Hill Tracts between Kornofuli and Shongu (= Seeta moora, Seita moora, Seita-pahar). 33-34, 96, 102-103, 115, 122.

Sitarghat

See: Chitmaram.

Soonderbunds

See: Shundorbon.

Sooratka village

Chakma village on the banks of the Kornofuli, just East of Elephant rock. See: Hattia rock. 111.

Soung-soung

Mru name for high hills in the East (= Mowdok Taung?). 68.

Suabuck

Area near Fokirhat 1 (= Saubuck). 43-45, 49.

Sualok

Mouza in Tarachha union, Bandorbon upozila and district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Sualuc, Sualuk). 27-28, 77, 89-90, 96, 99, 106.

Sualuc, Sualuk

See: Sualok.

Sumatra

8.

Sundeeep

See: Sandwip.

Sunderbunds

See: Shundorbon.

Sunna pallung

Small area near Dhoa Palong. 58.

Sunouttee, Sunouttu

See: Chunoti.

Surajpur

Village in Karaka union under Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= 'Pooraspour'). 66.

Surat

4.

Sweden

9.

Sylhet

(= Silhet). 130, 133, 135-137.

Taimooringa

Place to the East of Wala Palong (identical with Tai-mung Ung-ye?). 55.

Tai-mung Ung-ye

Marma village in the Baghkhali valley to the East of Ramu (= Taimooringa?). 59.

Tamu

Border village between Manipur and Burma (= Tum-moo). 137.

Tengnoupal

Meithei village in Manipur (= Tong-gong-pal). 137.

Thaungdut, Thaungthut

See: Samjok.

Thibet

4.

Tintorea, Tintoria

Place in Chhagolkhaiya mouza, Lama upozila, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73, 75.

Tiperah (province)

1, 15, 16, 123, 125-126, 130-135, 138.

Tong-gong-pal

See: Tengnoupal.

Totocally

See: Tōtokkhali.

Tōtokkhali

(= Tōtocally). 32.

Tuang-pouk

Marma village in the Baghkhali valley to the East of Ramu. 59.

Tum-me-rook

Meithei village in Manipur. 137.

Tum-moo

See: Tamu.

Udoypur

Town in Southern Tripura (= Oodapour, Oodypour, Oodypura). 126, 134.

Ukhia Ghat

Now the headquarters of Ukhia upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Outeah Ghaut). 40.

Ummerpura

See: Omorpur.

Umpry Palong

Marma village in the Baghkhali valley to the East of Ramu, governed by a chief whose title was 'Umpry Palong.' 59.

Wala Range

Mountain Range in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, highest point: Wala taung (= Mug Mountains). 85, 115.

Wala Palong

Mouza in Raja Palong union, Ukhaia upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Weel-la pallung, Weella pallung). 54-57.

Wala taung

Mountain (1,356 ft, 413 m) in Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Weel-la mein taung, Weella taung, Wellia..tung). 54, 56, 66, 85, 115.

Wanuc

See: Hoanak.

Wa-pru

Small island on the East side of the Naf river, location of a Burmese custom house. 80.

Weel-la mein taung

See: Wala taung.

Weel-la pallung

See: Wala Palong.

Weella taung

See: Wala taung.

Wellia...tung

See: Wala taung.

West Indies

25, 103.

Yunan, Yunnan

Province of China. 138.

Zan-da-pu-re

See: Sankhla Buri.

Zayn-byu-giun

See: Shinbyugyun.

Zeet-tua-kuin

Island near Akyab (Sittwe), Arakan. 81.

Zeing-dang-taung

Range of hills in Arakan, between Tsa-wu-de and Saing-din rivers. 82.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

B. Rivers and waters

Included are both Francis Buchanan's spelling and a modern one, if known.

A-go-lo

Rivulet in Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 74.

Alta

Rivulet near Alinogor in Northern Chittagong, a tributary of the Holda. 126.

Ang-bak-wah

Mouth of the Arakan river. See: Arakan river, Kaladan.

Arakan river

Probably the Kaladan river, flowing into the Bay of Bengal at Akyab (See: Kaladan). 81-82.

Argasa nullah

Small river at Paglirbil in Dulahajari union under Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong. 65.

Ayrawade

See: Irrawaddy.

Baghkhali

River in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Bakcally). 40, 58, 61, 66, 76, 89. See also: Ramu.

Bakcally

See: Baghkhali.

Baratulla, Barratulla

See: Boroitoli.

Barwany

River in Potiya upozila, between Kornofuli and Shongu rivers. 86, 99.

Bascherra

1. Tributary of the Subalong river in Juraichhori upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Basherra). 119.

2. See: Betchhori.

Basherra

See: Bascherra 1.

Bassunta rivulet

See: Boshonto.

Baung-ngu

See: Bomu.

Bay (of Bengal)

124.

Bé-de

Small stream in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.

Be-de shé

Small stream in Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 74.

Betchhora

Rivulet in Tarachha union, Roanchhori upozila, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Pein-cherra). 85, 96.

Betchhori, Betchari

Tributary of the Chengri river in Sabekhyong union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Bascherra). 118-119.

Bomu

Rivulet in Karaka union, Chakaria upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Baung-ngu). 73, 77-78.

Bonjoogy

See: Eimmea rivulet.

Bo-re

Rivulet in Lama upozila, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.

Boroitoli

River which receives the water of the Harbang rivulet and flows into the Matamuhuri (= Baratulla, Barratulla). 30-31, 77.

Boshonto

Tributary of the Kornofuli, flowing from the Boshonto hills. (= Bassunta). 111, 117, 119-120.

Brahmaputra

Major river Tibet, Assam and Bengal (= Burrampooter). 139-137.

Bué-tee

Rivulet in Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.

Burrampooter

See: Brahmaputra.

Cheem-cherra

Small tributary of the Raju river, flowing past Dhoa Palong. 58.

Cheemay, Cheengay

See: Chengri.

Chengri

Major tributary of the Kornofuli in the Northern Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Cheemay, Cheengay, Chingay, Chingree, Singay). 110-114, 117-119, 132, 135.

Chhoto Moheshkhali

Small river at Chhoto Moheshkhali (= Little Mascally river). 48.

Chindwin

Major river in North-Western Burma, tributary of the Irrawaddy (= Kiayn-diayn). 137.

Chingay, Chingree

See: Chengri.

Chittigong River

See: Kornofuli.

Coirmoora cherra

Tributary of the Baghkhali (Ramu) river in the Baro Palong area of Cox's Bazar district. 58.

Cruzcool

See: Joaria.

Curnafoolee, Curnafooly, Currumfullee

See: Kornofuli.

Da-bru-Kiaung

Rivulet in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 74.

Da-bru-Kiaung the lesser

Rivulet in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 74.

Dackitteah

See: Dakatia.

Dah-sue Kiué

Small stream in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 74.

Dakatia

Tributary of the Meghna river in Noakhali (= Dackitteah). 1, 139.

Dalak

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Dandara

Stream in Dandara pargana, between the Little Feni and Feni rivers in South-Eastern Noakhali. 14.

Dangata

Tributary of the Chengri river in Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Dungata). 118-119.

Dholir Chhora

Small river in Joaria Nala union, Ramu upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Doully cherra). 63.

Dolu

Principal tributary of the Shongu river in Chittagong (= Dulloo Nullah). 27, 28, 84.

Doocherra

Small tributary of the Subalong river. 119.

Doodoora

See: Durdura.

Doolea cherra

Small tributary of the Kornofuli in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 106.

Doombur

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Doopa cherrah

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Doully cherra

See: Dholir Chhora.

Dulloo Nullah

See: Dolu.

Dumsaga, Dumsagaka Talou

Pond near Fokirhat 1. 43, 49.

Dungata

See: Dangata.

Dun-gie, Dun-zee cherra

Rivulet in Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73, 75.

Durdura

Tributary of the Shongu river in Satkania upozila, Chittagong district (= Doodoora). 26.

Edgong

See: Idgaon.

Eencha cherra

Tributary of the Chengri river in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 118.

Eimmea

Tributary of the Kornofuli near Barkol (= Bonjoogy). 117.

Feni

(= Great Fenny). 13-14, 15, 84, 109, 112, 117, 119, 125, 127, 135.

Fenny, Great

See: Feni.

Fenny, Little

See: Little Feni.

Ganges

130.

Ghorao

Rivulet in Tarachha union, Roanchhori upozila, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Gorau). 85.

Gomooty, Gomut, Gomuty

See: Gumti.

Gonga cherra

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Goolea cherra

Small tributary of the Shongu river, near Dohazari village (= Barwany rivulet? See: Goolea Cherraka Haut).

Gooroobatta

See: Gorokghata.

Gooycherra

Tributary of the Chengri river in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 118.

Gorau

See: Ghorao.

Gorokghata

Creek on Moheshkhali island, near Cox's Bazar (= Gooroobatta). 42-43, 47-48.

Gualia (nullah)

Small tributary of the Shongu river, to the North-East of Chunoti. 84.

Gumti

The major river of Tripura, which flows past Comilla and into the Meghna (= Gomooty, Gomut, Gomuty). 126, 133.

Gungaram

Tributary of the Kassalong river in Northern Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 118.

Hangor

Tributary of the Shongu river (= Hangur). 84.

Hangur

See: Hangor.

Harbang

Tributary of the Matamuhuri river in Chittagong district (= Harbung, Hurlung). 30.

Harbung

See: Harbang.

Hatir mu(kh)

'Elephant's mouth,' waterfall in the Kornofuli river, Northern Barkol upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Hattiaka moo). 115-116.

Hats-tsah-la

Small river in Northern Arakan, flowing into the Bay of Bengal South of the Naf river. 80.

Hattiaka moo

See: Hatir mu(kh).

Hauldah, Havildar

See: Holda.

Herrinaka duar

See: Horiner duar.

Hingoola cherra

See: Hingulichhori.

Hingulichhori

Tributary of the Feni river in Northern Chittagong district (= Hingoola cherra). 125.

Holda

Major river of Northern Chittagong (= Hauldah, Havildar). 14-15, 20.

Hoory jeel

Seasonal lake (*jhil*) in Tripura, from which the Rany and Kany rivulets flow into the Gumti river. 134.

Horiner duar

'Deer's door,' waterfall in the Kornofuli river, Northern Barkol upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. Boro and Chhoto Horina are two mouzas here (= Herrinaka duar). 115-116.

Hurlung

See: Harbang.

Ichhamoti

Tributary of the Kornofuli flowing past Rangunia (= Ishamutty). 101-102.

Idgaon

River flowing from the Chittagong Hill Tracts past Idgaon in Cox's Bazar district; its Marma name is Ree-kan-go (= Edgong). 38, 64-65, 77.

Imrosyk ghong

See: Mroo-seik Kiaung.

Irrawaddy

Main river of Burma (= Ayrawade). 138.

Ishamutty

See: Ichhamoti.

Jamjoory

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Jerinne cheria

Small stream flowing through the white cliffs on the seaboard between Cox's Bazar and Jalia Palong. 51.

Joareeah (nullah)

See: Joaria.

Joaria

River in Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong (= Cruzcool, Joareeah (nullah)). 39-40, 61, 63.

Jumkua-cally

Small tributary of the Raju river, flowing past Dhoa Palong. 58.

Kabootkia

Tributary of the Chengri river in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 118.

Kaing-ghiaung

See: Raing-ghiaung.

Kain-sa Kiaung

Tributary (?) of the Shongu in Bandorbon district; its banks are inhabited by Bawm. 96.

Kaladan

Major river in Arakan. See: Ang-bak-wah, Arakan river, Ku-la-deing). 65, 81-82.

Kaly pany

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Kally cheria

Rivulet in Joaria Nala union, Ramu upozila, Cox's Bazar district, Chittagong. 63.

Kalya cheria

See: Nga-naur-row.

Ka-maung-Kiaung

Rivulet in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.

Ka-maung-laek-gnow-gnive

Rivulet the in Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.

Ka-maur-rab-bu

Rivulet in Lama upozila, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kamaurrabu). 73.

Kamme(?)

See: Kang-me.

Kanchona

Tributary of the Shongu river in Satkania upozila, Chittagong district (= Kunchana). 26.

Kanda cheria

Tributary of the Chengri river in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 117-119.

Kang-me

Small stream in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kamme(?)). 73, 75.

Kangracherra

Tributary of the Subalong river, Juraichhori upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 119.

Kany

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Kaoosgurra

Tributary of the Chengri river in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 118.

Kaptai

Tributary of the Kornofuli in Kaptai upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kapy, Kepty). 104-105.

Kapy

See: Kaptai.

Karik Khung

1. Tributary of the Chengri river in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 118.

2. Another such tributary ('Karik Khung 2nd'). 118.

Kassalong

Tributary of the Kornofuli in Barkol upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kazalung). 111-113, 117-120, 132.

Kasigong

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura (= Kazee). 133.

Kazalung

See: Kassalong.

Kazee

See: Kasigong.

Kepty

See: Kaptai.

Ketey cherra

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Khoonda-cally, Khoondakally

See: Khuntakhali.

Khoondycherra

Tributary of the Chengri river, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 118.

Khuntakhali, Khutakhali

Tributary of the Moheshkhali river in Chittagong (= Khoonda-cally, Khoondakally). 36, 65.

Kiayn-diayn

See: Chindwin.

Koindya

Rivulet flowing from the Koindya hills (= Kunnea). 110.

Kolatolir Chhora

Rivulet in Cox's Bazar district (= Kolatulleer cherra). 51.

Kolatulleer cherra

See: Kolatolir Chhora.

Kooburea jeel & cherra

Small lake and tributary of the Kornofuli river in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kooburea cherra). 106-107, 119, 121.

Kooburea cherra

See: Kooburea cherra.

Koorma

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Korindea

Creek at Kōrongiri Ghat, Borkol union, Potiya upozila, Chittagong district. 100.

Kornofuli

The major river of Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Chittigong River Curnafoolee, Curnafooly, Currumfullee). 23, 86-87, 89, 98, 100-107, 109-123, 126, 132.

Kuein-Kiaung

Small river in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.

Ku-la-deing

See: Arakan river

Kunchana

See: Kanchona.

Kunnea

See: Koindya.

Kyddaka cherra

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Ladi jeel

Seasonal lake in Tripura, from which the Kasigong flows to the Gumti. 133.

La-mah-ya-Kiaung

Rivulet at Lama, now upozila headquarters, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.

Little Feni

(= Little Fenny). 14.

Little Mascally river

See: Chhoto Moheshkhali.

Mahakaroong

See: Mahaprum.

Mahaliar jhil

Seasonal lake in mouza Mahalia, Bajalia union, Satkania upozila, Chittagong district (= Maliam Jeel?). 84-85.

Mahaprum

Rivulet in Burighat union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Mahakaroong). 118.

Maliam Jeel

See: Mahaliar jhil.

Mamooree river

See: Matamuhuri river.

Manik cherra

See: Manikchhori.

Manikchhori

Small tributary of the Kornofuli in Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Manik cherra). 106-107, 110-111, 119, 121.

Ma-ra-me

Rivulet in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 74.

Marany

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Mascally

See: Moheshkhali.

Matamuhuri

Large river of Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Mamooree, Mooree). 30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 59, 66, 72, 74-78, 89.

Mayani

River flowing through Khagrachhori district and joining the Kassalong river at Mayanimukh mouza, Longodu upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Mioony). 118.

Ma-yu

River in Arakan just North of Akyab; its two mouths are known as Ma-yu-kung and Ma-yu-wa. 41, 72, 74, 76, 80-82.

Ma-yu-kung, Ma-yu-wah

See: Ma-yu.

Meghna

Major river of East Bengal (= Megna). 131.

Megna

See: Meghna.

Mioony

See: Mayani.

Mioo-theet Kiaung

See: Mro-seik Kiaung.

Mogbon

1. Seasonal lake (*jhil*) in Mogbon union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Mugban); 107, 119-120.

2. Rivulet flowing from this *jhil* (= Mugban). 107, 120.

Moheshkhali

Large creek separating Moheshkhali Island from mainland Chittagong (= Mascally). 30, 36, 39, 63, 74.

Moilak

Tributary of the Gumti river in Tripura. 134.

Monu

Tributary of the Surma river, in Tripura. 133.

Mooree

See: Matamuhuri, Muhori.

Moory

See: Muhori.

Mroo-seik Kiaung

(= Imrosyk ghong, Mioo-theet Kiaung, Mroo-seit, Mroo-theik Kiaung, Myoo-theek Kiaung). 40, 54, 59-60, 65, 80.

Mroo-seit, Mroo-theik Kiaung

See: Mroo-seik Kiaung.

Mugban

See: Mogbon 1, 2.

Muhori

Tributary of the Feni river, in Tripura and Feni district (= Mooree, Moory). 120-127, 132.

Mu-re-pah

Rivulet in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.

Myoo-theek Kiaung

See: Mroo-seik-Kiaung.

Naaf, Naaff

See: Naf.

Naf

Boundary river between British India and Burma, now the boundary between Bangladesh and Burma; one of its mouths is called Ngai-wa, the other Wa-pru (= Naaf, Naaff, Ngait, Ngait-taung). 28, 40-42, 51, 53, 54, 57, 59-60, 76, 79-80, 82, 89, 115-116.

Nanakaroong

See: Nanakorum.

Nanakorum

Small stream in Burighat union, Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Nanakaroong). 118.

Ngait, Ngait-taung, Ngai-wa

See: Naf.

- Nga-Kieing-dauk
River in Northern Arakan, tributary of the Ma-yu river. 81.
- Nga-naur-row
Rivulet in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Kalya cherra). 73-75.
- Ngap-pio
'The Plantain Tree'; Rivulet in Lama upozila, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.
- Nga-ya-sa
Rivulet in the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 73.
- Noaputtun cherra
Tributary of Shongu river, in Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 85-86.
- Oo-kia
See: Ukhia 1, 2.
- Oo-reet taung-lein-beik
See: Oo-reet taung.
- Oo-reet taung
Tributary of the Ma-yu river in Arakan (= Oo-reet taung-lein-beik). 41, 81-82.
- Ootanchetry
Waterfall in the Kornofuli river, North of Barkol, Barkol upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 115, 117.
- Outeah river
See: Ukhia.
- Paglir Chhora
Rivulet near Paglirbil (= Paoli cherra). 65.
- Pancherra
See: Panchhori.
- Panchhori
Tributary of the Subalong river, in Juraichhori upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Pancherra). 119.
- Panirchhora
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- Pang-wa Kiaung
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- Pateela
Salt water channel between the Joaria and Baghkhali rivers, near Ramu. 61.
- Peelak
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- Polee
Tributary of the Chengri river in Rangamati upozila, Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts. 118.
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Rivulet in Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, Bandorbon district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Pein-cherra). 73, 75.
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- Rainkhyong
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- Raja Gobinna Manic's tank
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River in Cox's Bazar district (= Raja pallung cherra, Rajoo, Razoo). 42, 50-53, 56, 58, 79.

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Small stream near La-mah-ya-Kiaung. 73.

Ramoo

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Ramu

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Rangamati

Tributary of the Kornofuli at Rangamati, now the headquarters of Rangamati district, Chittagong Hill Tracts (= Rangamatty). 107, 110, 120, 122.

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Roymutally

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Rukta cherra

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Saing-din

Tributary of the Ma-yu river, Northern Arakan, Burma (= Zeing-dan, Zeing-dang, Zeing-dang-sa). 68, 72, 74, 81-82, 90.

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Sooipoora

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Seasonal lake in Tripura, from which the Jamjoory flows into the Gumti river. 134.

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Tank (pond) near Chakaria. 66.

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Suipura

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Sungang

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Sunkar, Sunkowty

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Surma

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Taimarung

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Taimidang

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Tarachhora

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Toisakma

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Alynagur	See: Alinogor.
Arakanese	(= Rakain, Ra-Kain, Rekain, Rossawn Mugs). 31, 33, 37, 38-41, 47, 48, 50-55, 57, 59, 60-65, 67-68, 71, 76, 79-82, 87, 91, 104, 108, 111, 123-124.
Assamese	See: Ahom.
Auksa	See: Burman.
Barooksa	See: Tipera.
Barua	See: Borua.
Bawm	(= Bon-zu, Bonjoogy, Loo-sai, Loo-she). 28, 65, 86-87, 90, 93, 96, 98-99, 104, 106, 110, 116-117.
Bengalese	See: Bengali.

Bengali	(= Bengalese). 15, 16, 24, 27, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 47, 48, 49, 50-54, 56-57, 60, 63, 66, 68, 71-73, 75-78, 81, 85-86, 89, 93-94, 97-98, 100, 112, 115-117, 119-120, 124-126, 133-134, 138-139.
Bonjoogy	See: Bawm.
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Borua	(= Barua, Mugs, Rajbunjee, Rajbunsee). 57, 71, 89.
Burman	(= Auksa (i.e. <i>auk-tha</i> : inhabitants of Lower Burma), Burmas). 28, 31, 33, 40, 41, 47, 52-57, 59-70, 76, 79, 82, 87, 91-93, 95, 97, 104-105, 108, 111-112, 135-138.
Burmas	See: Burman.
Chak	See: Sak.
Chakma	(= Doobadse, Moishang Sak, Sagma, Sakma, Saksa). 15, 27, 87, 101, 103-108, 110-122.
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Cuci	See: Kuki.
Deinea Moroong	(= Doingnak? Mroung?). 75, 77, 98.
Doingnak	See: Deinea Moroong.
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Kapo	Buchanan identifies this group with Shan; possibly Kabui, a Naga-Bodo group of Manipur. 137-138.
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Khami/Khumi	(= Kaung-me? Kue-mye). 41, 65.
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Kue-mye	See: Kuki.
Kuki	See: Khami/Khumi.
	(Vague term for hill people who are neither Chakma nor Marma = Cuci, Koongky, Koonky, Kooky, Lan-ga, Lang-ga, Lan-ka, Layn-ga, Lingta, Linkta, Loo-sai, Loo-shee, Zou).
	16, 28, 34, 41, 65, 86-88, 92-97, 107, 110, 112-113, 116-120, 126, 130, 132-134, 136. See also: Bawm, Kio, Lang-mang, Layn-ga, Shan-du, Sheindu.
Kulak Sak	65.
Lakher	(Other versions: Lan-ga, Lang-ga, Lan-ka, Layn-ga, Lingta, Linkta).
	See: Kuki.
Lan-ga, Lang-ga	See: Kuki.
Lang-mang	117, 119.
Lan-ka	See: Kuki.
Lay Mroo	See: Mru.
Layn-ga, Lingta, Linkta.	41. See also: Kuki.
Loo-sai, Loo-shee	See: Bawm, Kuki.
Lushai	(Other versions: Loo-sai, Loo-shee)
	See: Bawm, Kuki.
Mã-rã-ma(-gre)	See: Marma.

- Marma** (= Joomea, Joomea Mugs, Kiaung-sa, Mă-ră-ma, Mă-ră-ma-gre, Ree-kree-sa (=Sons of the Sweet Water)), (subdivisions: Sabouk-sa, Zeing-dang-sa). 15, 25, 27-28, 32, 33-34, 38, 52, 59-63, 65-69, 71-78, 85-99, 104-105, 122.
 (= Moitay). 135-139.
 See: Chakma.
 See: Meithei.
 (= Talain). 57.
 57.
 See: Mru.
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 (= 'Mooung,' Myoun, Wa-thé Mroo. See also: Deinea Moroong, Reang). 41, 65-67, 72-75, 87.
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 (= *mog*, general term for people living to the East of Bengal). 20, 28, 34, 47, 48, 112. See also: Arakanese, Borua, Burman, Kuki, Marma, Mru, etc.
 See: Mru.
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- Paitoo** (Paite?) 136.
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Paung-sa (= Pankhua?). 71, 74.
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- Rajbunjee, Rajbunsee** See: Borua.
Rakain, Ra-Kain, Rekain See: Arakanese.

- Reang** Subdivision of Tipera. 126, 132, 134.
Ree-kree-sa See: Marma.
Romans 88.
Rossawn Mugs See: Arakanese.
- Sa-bouk-sa** See: Marma.
Sagma See: Chakma.
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 See: Chakma; Sak.
 108.
 See: Chakma.
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 41. See also: Kuki.
 65. See also: Kuki.
 See: Thai.
- Sakma**
Sak-mee
Saksa
Shan
Shan-du
Shein-du
Siammese
- Talain** See: Mon.
Taung-sa (= *taun-tha*, Sons of the Hill, as distinguished from Kiaung-sa. Hill-top dwelling groups, e.g. Mru). 66.
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 (= Tiperah, Tipperah, Teura, Tripura, Reang, Barooksa). 15, 20, 31, 34, 72-74, 77-78, 87, 98, 105, 108-109, 123, 125-126, 130-136.
 See also: Alinogor.
- Tay-ko**
- Thack**
Thai
Tipera
- Wa-thé Mroo** See: Mroung.
- Yoodara** People from Ayuthia (Thailand). 57.
- Zeing-dang-sa** See: Marma.
Zou 93-95. See also: Kuki.

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Toa	See: Moolee.
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